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The COMMUNIST

VOL. VIII JANUARY–FEBRUARY NO. 1

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O. Kuusinen

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M. N. Roy

The Decline of the American Federation of Labor
William Z. Foster

With An Editorial Answer

Some Issues in the Party Discussion
Jay Lovestone

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THE FOREMAN

Drawn by Robert Minor
DAILY WORKER, DECEMBER 23, 1924

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A Leninist Analysis of the Colonial Problem

By O. KUUSINEN

In the discussion of the Colonial Theses in the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern emphasis was laid on the critical remark, which I myself pointed out already in the report, that is, the lack of a theoretical proof of the theses of Lenin on the possibility of the non-capitalistic development of the backward colonial countries. This thesis is of course embodied in the draft theses; it was also, to some extent, further developed by it; there are elements of its theoretical proof on hand in the draft, but the proof itself has not yet been given. I request that this point receive our special attention, because I regard it as one of the basic ideas in our theses in general.

The remark of Comrade Neumann, that the most important feature is missing, because Lenin spoke not only about going round the capitalist stage, but besides this about the development of these countries to Socialism and Communism—is not correct either. I quote the respective part:

> "This signifies the greatest possible shortening of the path of development of these People, the greatest possible acceleration of their development from the present backward and, with some of these people, altogether primitive stage, through the most necessary intermediary stage to the richest unfolding of their powers in the Socialist and further in the Communist Social order. . . ."

I must again emphasize, that in preparing the Draft Thesis, the underlying leading thought for me, was the independent role of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement of the colonial countries, the attaining of the hegemony of the proletariat, including, as well, the leading role of the Communist Parties. This is for instance, the main criterion in the division of the countries into groups. The Chinese Revoluution is being stressed specially, because it was the first great colonial revolution in which the proletariat played an independent role. As the strategic central purpose of the whole bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Draft Thesis lays emphasis on the winning of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of the Communist Party. At another part of the Draft Thesis it is said:

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> "Of decisive significance for the success of the direct mutation of the revolution from the first phase to the end of the first period (that is to the point where the proletariat and peasantry conquer Power) is (1) the degree of maturity of the proletarian-revolutionary leadership of the movement, that is that of the Communist Party of the respective country (its strength, independence, consciousness of purpose, fighting ability as well as its authority; connection with and influence in the trade union and peasant movements); (2) the degree of organization (even if this is not possible to the same degree) of the peasantry."

I regard it as necessary to remind the comrades of these main ideas, because Comrade Losovsky in his criticism repeatedly asserted, that in the Draft Theses the proletariat, the hegemony of the revolution, totally "disappears," and established this as a big gap. Indeed, if it were true, this would be an immense gap. The Draft, furthermore, describes, even if briefly, the peculiarity of the colonial proletariat, its fluctuating composition, the exceptionally great percentage of the women and children, the difficulties of organizing the colonial worker, the difficulties of developing its class consciousness, etc.; in many places the workers are seasonal workers, and even the workers of the older industrial branches stand with one foot still in the village; this helps the alliance between the workers and the peasants, but makes the creation of a proletarian ideology difficult.

Another remark of Comrade Losovsky is, that one should have described in the Draft Thesis the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Well, comrades, the whole of the end of the 4th chapter describes only this matter. Whether bad or good, is another question, but it is described; I attempted it and this is not a "gap." It is true, nobody can give a fully concrete description of what the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is going to look like, but we can write about the general tasks, about the role of the Communist Parties, about the role of the proletariat during this period.

THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE PROCESS OF ITS MUTATION INTO THE SOCIALISTIC REVOLUTION

Comrade Fokin said, that the Central problem has not been raised in the thesis, i. e., the problem of the mutation of the Revolution from one period into the other. Now then, Comrades, the following is written about this in the draft:

> "The second period is, the very period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution's mutation into the first period of the Socialist Revolution. This process of mutation can, to a certain extent, already begin during the first period, (embryonic genesis of the hegemony

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of the proletariat); it can, however, also be interrupted at various times. Only in the second period can the development of the country be steered under the dominating influence of the proletariat, whereby this development will receive a new, non-capitalistic direction."

We, then copiously describe how this happens. Already, at the beginning of the description of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, this problem is being put and described; true, not in the shape of a scholastic question, but as a historical process and as a political task. What is more, the question on double-rule and the questions on the Soviets, etc., were put at the same time, all questions which comrade Fokin did not find in the draft. What can I do when critics come, who assert that that which I inserted in the draft as a matter of major importance, is not there at all?

The bourgeois-democratic revolution is denoted in the Draft Theses as Soviet-revolution, as class revolution of the workers and peasants etc. Why so many denotations? It has the purpose of popularization, in order to avoid that anybody, and before all the comrades of the colonies should misunderstand it,—when we speak about bourgeois-democratic revolution, that anybody, perchance, should be of the opinion that we mean by it the simple bourgeois revolution, since our scientifically correct terminology is a bit hard to understand.

A comrade, despite this, misunderstood it. Naturally, one can say, that only the first period of the Socialist revolution can fully complete some of the taks of the bourgeoisie-democratic revolution. But simply to say, the bourgeois-democratic revolution is identical with the common bourgeois revolution, this I can regard only as a simple mistake.

Comrade Neumann in the question of the mutation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, represented the point of view, that the struggle decides everything. These words are from Lenin, but the thought has not been correctly reflected, according to my opinion. As the VII Plenum of the Executive said, the Chinese Revolution cannot destroy the capitalist yoke without growing beyond the limits of bourgeois-democracy, in this sense it is right. But growing beyond the limits of bourgeois democracy is one thing, and growing over the limits of bourgeois democratic revolution is another. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a period in which the prerequisites of the socialist revolution are being prepared, but in itself this period does not go beyond its own frame. Of course, it is right as Comrade Neumann says, that the mutation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution does not occur automatically nor without the active force of the working class; but neither can it take place without a minimum of the

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objective prerequisites, in the maturing of which, the proletariat and the Communist Party can naturally effect a great deal, and before all, after they have succeeded in conquering the power. But just to say, that by this mutation the struggle decides everything, is not right. One has to add, struggle decides it all, when a minimum of the objective prerequisites exist. In the frame of these objective prerequisites the struggle decides. It is very important for a revolutionary to bear in mind the maxim of Napoleon, of which Lenin was so fond, that one should just throw oneself into the struggle and then one will see what is going to come out of it. However, Lenin never meant it in the sense that we need no theory and no analysis of the objective prerequisites, because only the struggle decides everything.

AGAINST THE THEORY OF DE-COLONIZATION

THE ATTITUDE OF THE DRAFT THESES ON THE QUESTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONIES

I will now touch on our main question, namely, the theory of de-colonization. The theme of our thesis is not the colonial problem in its entirety, but only the revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. For the characterization of the revolutionary movements, one must necessarily also characterize the forces against which the movement is directed. This is in the first place the imperialist colonial regime, and secondly it is the class of native exploiters. The second chapter of our draft analyses the substance, the main tendencies of the imperialist colonization policy. These are pointed out in a manner that out of the contradiction between the imperialist colonial regime and the counter-forces in the colonies, one should have a logical introduction to the general perspectives of the revolutionary crises in the colonies. These counter-forces were not elaborately described in the draft. Still less, does the draft claim to describe the totality of the economic development in the colonies. These are three different matters. You perhaps may tell me, it is a deficiency that the totality of the process has not been described. However, here we are dealing only with general thesis. Should we want to raise concretely the question of the revolutionary perspectives in each country for itself, then one could not do this without describing in its fully concrete entirety the actual totality of the process of economic development. If you so desire, we can add some things about the most important colonies, so that we put the revolutionary perspective concretely for them.

A number of comrades who criticized this chapter from the point of view of industrialization or the de-colonization theory, raised the question, where does the proletariat come from, where does

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the bourgeoisie come from? It has, substantially, no different origin in the colonial countries from that in the other countries. The development of native capitalism is not denied in the thesis. In paragraph 1 this is distinctly stated as one of the important facts, which came to light after the II Congress, the strengthening of the elements of capitalist, and in particularly of industrial development in the colonies, the growth of the proletariat, the beginnings of its organization, etc. About India in particular it has been said that:

> ". . . even through these petty concessions (on the part of British imperialism) the tendencies towards the independent economic development of India, where the native industry experienced its first thriving boom during the war and in the first period after the war, have received significant encouragement."

Whence originates this native capitalism, the native industry in the colonies when the imperialist colonial policy tends to block the industrialization of the countries? The answer is at least hinted briefly in the draft

> "On the other hand, the tendency of the imperialists to bring the colonies into a one-sided dependence on their countries, rises in ever sharper form against the economic and social counter-forces created by the imperialists themselves."

Besides, it is stated in the draft, that the imperialist policy conditions a certain furtherance of production-development in the colonies. It is, therefore, altogether superfluous, comrades, to bring quotations from Lenin and Marx against us, in which it is said, that capitalism in the colonies serves as an unconscious tool of historical development, as well as of historical relations, or that it occasions the first steps in the development of the industry, etc. Obviously, imperialist exploitation in the colonies is not solely plunder, but capitalist exploitation as well, which cannot go on without a certain development of industry or at least a certain development of the productive forces. The material basis for the capitalistic development of production has to be treated in the form of constructing means of transport, railways, ports, etc. Only to get raw materials out of the ground, mines, plantations have to be organized, cotton-growing introduced—all these spheres of production, which the theses designate as the main spheres of colonial production. At the same time the native capitalistic development is party an undesired by-product of the imperialist exploitation and it is partly a development of native capitalism, evoked by this exploitation, and which takes place in spite of the hampering tendencies on the part of imperialism.

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THE DE-COLONIZATION POINT OF VIEW

What is the point of view of the Draft Theses? This has been opposed by many comrades, first of all, Comrades Bennett, Rothstein and Heller. All these comrades say, quite naturally, and I believe, that after we put the question so sharply at this Congress, all the adherents of this false point of view will say as well—that they are not at all supporting the de-colonization theory. This word, so to say, has been killed. It is, indeed, not true what Comrade Bennett says, that our comrades spoke about de-colonization only in quotation marks. Regrettable as it is, there have been written seriously not only articles but whole books, in this sense; even our periodical for Indian matters, which appears abroad, represented for a long time this theory. Therefore, the question is not at *all* a question in quotation marks; *I would* prefer that those comrades who represented the de-colonization theory would say: it was a mistake, we represent it no more. Comrade Palme Dutt, it is true, as already partly revised his former point of view in his last article. This I admit. And, of course, I never was of the opinion, that our comrades speak in the sense about de-colonization as do the imperialists or their lackeys. Of course, they do want to fight against imperialism, and do not want to embellish it. All this, however, does not excuse the objective incorrectness of this theory.

Let us take this theory in the form as it has been defined here at this Congress, for instance, by Comrade Bennett. He said:

> "We are not dealing with colonization or de-colonization. We are dealing with the industrialization of India under the control of England."

He also spoke about "a new stage of imperialist colonial policy" and about the "participation of the imperialist powers in the industrialization of the colonies," etc. Comrade Rothstein has spoken among other things about the tendencies of imperialism to:

> "transform the colonial countries into territories for producing the means of production, and in this manner carry out that process of industrialization, which will not adapt these colonies to the requirements of the imperialist mother-countries, but on the contrary—as we see this in a highly classical and clear manner in the example of England (!!)—, it will before all transform them into serious competitors. . . ."

Basically taken this is the very same theory, as has been formerly represented by Comrade Palme Dutt, also by Comrade Roy and Comrade Rathbone in their latest books.

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DOES MARX'S POINT OF VIEW AGREE WITH THE THEORY OF DE-COLONIZATION?

Can it be mere chance that neither Marx nor Lenin ever asserted that the imperialist colonial policy promotes the industrialization of the colonies? No. What they asserted is something quite different.

The basic question is: Is it correct, that the main tendency of the imperialist colonial policy, in its substance, is to check the independent economic development, the industrialization of the colonies? Or is it right, as these comrades say, that the imperialist colonial policy furthers the industrialization of the colonies? This is the question which decides the line of the theses. Either the answer given in the draft theses is right, and the main line is also correct, or it is false and then you must reject the theses. Of late, in our edly to the one function of the imperialist colonial-monopoly, namely to the function of exploiting the colonies. Little regard has been paid to the other functions, connected therewith, of the imperialist colonial-monopoly, namely, its function of preserving and further developing the conditions of its own existence. This is the function of subjugation, as it has been designated in the draft. We can see now—and this is useful—that it was high time that attention be turned to this aspect.

Marx, in "Capital" lays down the following general law of development:

> "By constantly making a part of the hands 'supernumerary,' modern industry, in all countries where it has taken root, gives a spur to emigration and to the colonization of foreign lands, which are thereby converted into settlements for growing the raw material of the mother country; just as Australia, for example, was converted into a colony for growing wool. A new international division of labor, a division suited to the requirements of the chief centres of modern industry, springs up and converts one part of the globe into a mainly agricultural field of production for supplying the other part which remains a mainly industrial field."

Now, says Comrade Bennett: This was the colonial policy of the 19th century, but in the theses the colonial policy of the 20th century must be described. In itself, the putting of the question in this manner, has of course, its justifications.

The epoch of finance-capital, of imperialism, does not as a rule abrogate the general laws of capitalism, but it may in one sense or another, modify the laws. We must investigate, if and how this law established by Marx has now been modified, above all by capital-export, upon which, in particular, has been based the criticism

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of the respective comrades against the draft theses. It was even asserted that I totally forgot this important side of imperialism. No, this has not been forgotten.

THE ROLE OF CAPITAL-EXPORT

I have re-examined Hilferding, as to what he had established on the question of a possible modification of the Marxian Law; As you know, Lenin took no exceptions to this part of Hilferding's "Finance Capital." We have every reason to presume that if Lenin had not been in agreement with Hilferding on this point, he would have called our attention to it. What one finds in Hilferding in no way indicates a change of this Marxian law in the sense that capital export furthers the industrialization of the colonies. On the contrary, he points to other spheres in the colonies, to where the exported capital is streaming:

> "In particular, the creation of the modern transport system, that of railways and steamship lines absorbs enormous quantities of capital."

and further:

> "Is the soil fertile, then it becomes possible for the native industry to deliver its raw materials such as, for instance, cotton, far cheaper than the old sources."—"Yet more important is the supplying of raw material to the metallurgical industry. The rapid development of the metallurgical industry has, despite all the technical advance, the tendency to raise the prices of metals, which is still further enhanced by capitalistic monopolization. This makes it even more important to have sources of these raw materials in one's own economic sphere."

The centre of gravity, then, lies in the production of raw materials and the acquisition and monopolization of the raw material resources. Further on Hilferding writes:

> "As long as capital-export substanitally served the purpose of creating, firstly, transport systems in the backward country, secondly of developing the industries producing the means of consumption, so long it furthered the capitalistic development of this country. True, even this method had its disadvantages for the country in question. The greater portion of the profits flowed to foreign countries, to be spent here, partly as revenue, not at all employed to start the wheels of industry in the debtor country, or to be accumulated." (Here it does not deal with colonies only.—K.) "This accumulation need not, of course, by any means take place in the country from which the profit has been derived; by this capitalistic 'absenteeism', the accumulation, that is the further-development of capitalism in this country was extremely retarded."

Here, we can see in what direction, according to Hilferding, capital export in the epoch of finance capital modifies the Marxian

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Law. You will excuse me, for reading such long quotations from Hilferding; the man is a scoundrel, but on this point he formerly depicted matters correctly, as Lenin already acknowledged. Hilferding then goes on to speak about the assimilation of imported capital, which is more easily accomplished in the larger countries but meets fifficulties in the smaller ones; he writes as follows.

> "This emancipation became totally impossible as soon as the character of capital export has changed, when the capitalist classes of the large economic spheres strove less for the creation of industries producing the means of consumption in foreign countries, but set themselves much more the task of securing domination over the raw materials for their ever more rapidly developing industries producing the means of production. Thus, the mines of the countries of the Pyreneon peninsula came under the power of foreign capital, which was now exported, not as loan capital but was invested direct in these mines, in this manner also—against great resistance the mineral wealth of Scandinavia, in particular Sweden came into the hands of foreign capital. At a time when perhaps, under different circumstances, these countries could have gone over to the creation of the most essential modern industries, their own iron industry, the raw material was withdrawn for the benefit of the English, German and French industries. Thus, their capitalistic development, and with it, also, the political and financial advance was hamstrung right at the beginning. Economic tributaries to foreign capital, they became also politically, States of the second order, left to the protection of the bigger."

Therefore, this can be said regarding even such countries as Sweden, Spain, etc. Take this analogy, then, for the colonies; to what a greater extent does the export of capital effect there the slowing up, the hampering of the inner capitalistic development. In India this is particularly clear. Just imagine the immense reserves that Indian Capitalism would possess if only it could develop its forces in full freedom. It is too simple to say: export of capital means industrialisation. No, the matter is not so simple. For instance, loan capital is being exported by England to Australia or Canada, or by America to Germany. This can promote industrialisation, and in fact it does. It may also to some extent advance the industrialization, when, for the purpose of strengthening the British agency, England exports money, in the form of loan capital to be put at the disposal of the bourgeoisie of South Africa. Loan capital can, however, be also a means, a weapon of expansion, for example when American capital is being placed as a state-loan in the different South American countries. Here we see, as a rule, that when the givernment is in financial straits, and proves unable to meet the regular amortisation, the representatives of American capital come and take over the control of State finances, place their own finance-commissar in power as comptroller,

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etc. This is one of the ways by which imperialism nowadays establishes its colonial monopoly in an independent country.

But capital is being exported not only as loan-capital but as production-capital as well, mainly for the acquisition of the raw material resources and the high points of economic-command in the different new spheres of imperialist expansion. When in this form it goes, for instance, to the Latin American countries, where English and American imperialism are sharply competing, and where they are only now capturing the high economic-commanding points, naturally, this capital-import has to induce there a certain development of production, e. g. mines have to be opened and put into operation; but the substance of the matter, the actual question, is the acquisition by imperialism of the raw material resources, not the industrialisation of the countries.

The State-loan of London to the Indian government means again something different. It means the squeezing of tribute from the Indian people. As is clearly to be seen from the statistical material, British export capital serves for the greater part unproductive purposes, but even in cases where it is being used for plantations, for mines, etc., it does not mean the industrialisation of India.

A CLOSE ANALOGY

You may remember yet another analogy in this connection. You will recall the discussion in the C. P. S. U. between Comrades Stalin and Sokolnikov on the question of "Dawesising" the Soviet Union. Here, too, capitalist export from the imperialist countries was spoken of. Now, as a matter of fact there is hardly any capital export to the Soviet Union, but there is no doubt that the Soviet Union could easily obtain capital from the foreign countries, if only the Russian proletariat would permit the foreign capitalists to colonise, not industrialise, a bit of the country. At that time Comrade Stalin among other things wrote the following against Comrade Sokolnikov:

> "Our country has to be transformed from an agricultural country into an industrial one capable of producing the means of production by itself. This is the substance, the basis of our general line. We have to arrange matters so that the ideas and efforts of our economists are co-ordinated in this direction of transforming our country from a country importing the means of production, into a country which produces the means of production. Because this embodies the main guarantee for the economic independence of our country. Because this is the guarantee that our country will not be transformed into an appendage of the capitalist countries. Comrade Sokolnikov does not want to realise this simple and glaring fact. The creators of the Dawes Plan would like us to restrict ourselves, let us say, to the production of automobiles, but we do not

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> satisfy ourselves with this, because we want to produce not only automobiles, but also the machines that are needed for the production of automobiles. They want to restrict us to the production of, let us say, shoes; but we are not satisfied with this, because we want to produce not only shoes, but also the machines for the production of shoes, etc."

I believe this throws light on the question. India, too, wants to produce, not only shoes, but machines, as well; British Imperialism, however, does not want to permit this. Capitalist England itself wants to produce the machines; it wants to retain and exploit India as an agricultural appendage.

To be sure, in some of the semi-colonies and such independent countries where imperialism builds up its monopoly by economic acquisition first (as for instance in Argentina and in Brazil), this basic tendency of the imperialist colonial policy is not quite so obvious, particularly where a group of two or more imperialists play against each other.

In the draft I spoke of some deviations of the imperialist colonial-policy from the general line. This has been interpreted here as if I had said, capital export is not an exception, but there can be, temporarily, such an unusual surplus of free capital in an imperialist country, or, for instance, the machine-producing industries of the metropolis may occasionally get to feel so sensitively the narrowness of the export market, that out of this there may arise in certain colonies a cerain temporary deviation from the metropolis. The government of an imperialist country is not always able to regulate the direction of the stream of capital export; as a matter of fact it is never in a position freely to decide the direction; this may lead especially in times of high prosperity, even to a transitory promotion of industrialisation in one or another of the colonies. This, however, is not the rule; the main tendency, the substance of the imperialist colonial policy is a different one. What may be of much greater significance in the industrial development of a colony is the export of machines, not from the respective mother-country, but from the other competing capitalist countries.

Even Comrade Lominadze, unfortunately, slid off onto the wrong track in this question. In his speech he struggled like a prometheus against the chains of the decolonisation theory but always fell to his knees, He said:

> "What is incorrect in Comrade Knusinen's theses? The assertion that colonial countries are becoming more and more an appendage of capitalism, and also the assertion that raw material is exported to the industrial mother-countries. This was correct formerly, in the epoch of premonopolist capitalism, but it is not correct now.

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> The inherent law, the tendency of economic development in the colonies under imperialism does not consist in their gradual transformation into an agrarian appendage of the mother countries, but in their transformation from an agrarian appendage into a sphere where productive capital is functioning and to which the centre of gravity of the production of the mother countries is transferred."

Comrade Stalin, as we have seen, said that the imperialists wish to transform even the Soviet Union into an agricultural appendage. What is described in the draft theses as the main tendency of the imperialist colonial policy is, in the eyes of Comrade Lominadze, altogether false. He brings quotations from Lenin, where it is said that imperialism creates a *basis* for the industrial development of the colonies. Of course, it creates a basis; this is asserted in the draft theses, too; this, however, is far from meaning their transformation from an agrarian appendage of the respective metropolis into industrial countries. Comrade Lomindaze bases himself first of all on the well known passage by Lenin where he quotes the liberal Hobson, who depicts a future perspective for Europe, which may arise out of the further development of capitalism in the East and in the colonies in general (in Asia, Africa, etc.). Lenin quotes this assertion of Hobson concurringly, and Comrade Lominadze takes this as a proof that Lenin would have acknowledged that imperialism does not transform the colonies into appendages of its economy but industrialises them. But unfortunately for Comrade Lominadze, even in this quotation from Hobson it is mentioned that, even in this case the imperialist countries will retain a certain industrial role, and, indeed, the role "of the industry engaged in the production of final and finished goods." Thus, even in the future perspeptive of the imperialist countries depicted by Hobson, there remains, at bottom, the same division of the world, as already established by Marx, into countries with a predominantly agricultural production, raw material production and half-finished goods production; and into more advanced countries, engaged predominantly in the production of finished goods. On the other hand, Comrade Lominadze says the following:

> "Lenin asserts, that, the greater the industrial development in the colonies, the sharper becomes the struggle between the native industries and the imperialists."

Very good, Comrade Lenin is quite correct. But this does not at all speak for the theses of industrialisation of the colonies by imperialism. It is not very logical, when Comrade Lominadze recognises as correct precisely the point of the theses of Comrade Roy accepted at the II World Congress which is directed explicitly

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against the theory of industrialization. It is quite clearly stated on this point:

> "Foreign imperialism, imposed by force on the Eastern peoples, has beyond doubt stopped their social and economic development and deprived them of the possibility to reach that stage of development which has been attained in Europe and in America. Thanks to the imperialist policy, which aims at checking the industrial development in the colonies, the native proletariat came into existence really only recently."

This is the substance of the imperialist colonial regime. These theses have been looked over by Lenin. Do you think that this section would have remained in the theses if Lenin had not acknowledged them as correct? No. Lenin read theses more carefully than some other comrades are apt to nowadays.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA DEEPENS ITS CONTRADICTIONS WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM

While trade capital is first developing in a colony, the counterforces against the subjugating imperialism are still very weak. The tendency toward economic independence obtains a greater force only where native industry is developing. The effort toward independence grows parallel with the industrial development of the country. However, this process of industrialisation in these countries goes on against great difficulties, because the pressure of the imperialist colonial monopoly resists the tendencies toward industrialisation. In spite of this, in such great colonial countries as India, the industrial development forges ahead, even if it proceeds with very great difficulty, and at a very retarded pace. I am not at all asserting that British imperialism is in a position to stop this advance. No. On the contrary, I conclude from the fact that this development makes headway despite everything, the *deepening of the revolutionary contradictions between imperialist England and India.* This is the question put in the draft theses. As against this, the formulation of Comrade Bennett and others, "industrialisation of the colonies under the control of imperialism," is an impossibility. This is somewhat similar as saying "the growth of independence of the labour movement under the control of the bourgeoisie." These are two conceptions that cannot be brought into agreement. First of all, the development of the colonies is being checked by imperialist monopoly. I requested a few comrades to draw up a list, on the basis of the official government reports, of all the legislative measures that have been taken in regard to India after the world war and which have any significance, so that

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we can see quite concretely how English imperialism hinders or promotes the industrialisation of India.

This list gives us the following picture:

A. Measures Favouring the Industrial Development of India.

1. The 3 per cent assessment on the cotton consumption of the Indian textile mills was abolished (as a result of a textile workers' strike).

2. The tariffs on the lower qualities of textile products were raised from 11% to 16% (England does not export textile goods of low quality to India, so this measure was directed against the fast growing Japanese trade).

B. Measures to Hinder the Industrial Development of the Country.

1. *In the year 1920*: A law on the Imperial Bank by which the bank is forbidden to give credit to industrial undertakings.

2. *In the year 1922*: Railway construction plans with a capital expenditure of 1,500 million rupees. The Indian bourgeoisie demands the orders for the Indian metallurgical industries. The orders were given to an English concern, since the English offer was pretty near 50% cheaper.

3. *In the year 1923:* Orders for 3,132 railway cars given to England.

4. *In the years 1926-27*: a) the export duty fixed at 12% in the year 1919, on leather and skins (for the purpose of creating a leather industry) has been reduced to 3% (thus raw material will be exported.)

b) The rupee exchange has been set at 1.5, even though all the industries were against it and demanded an exchange at 1.4.

c) Instead of increasing the tariff duty on iron and steel, as demanded by the Indian gourgeoisie, preferential tariffs were fixed for British iron and steel goods.

d) The increase in the coal tariff demanded by the Indian bourgeoisie was rejected in order that the South African coal industry should be protected and promoted (South Africa inports to India).

e) Capital is being exported from India to Brazil and the Minister of Finance approves of it.

f) More order given away to England.

g) Duties on automobiles tires were lowered.

h) The Royal Commission on Agriculture carries on its work in a sense that Indian capital (and the wealth after mobilization) be directed to agriculture.

Here we see two rather insignificant measures regarding which one could say that by them the industrialisation of India has been promoted; all of the remaining measures aim directly at re-

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tarding the process of industrialisation. I have stated already in my report, what the temporary circumstances were that forced the English Government, during the war and in the first years following the war, to grant the respective concessions.

Comrade Losovsky took exception to the expression used in the draft theses which describes the colonies as the "agrarian hinterland" of imperialism, and instead proposed the expression of "raw material hinterland" I cannot see, in this, an important difference. We, of course, do not mean by the expression "agrarian," agriculture alone, but use it in its wider sense, as Marx also used it, by the inclusion of primary production.

WHY MUST THE THEORY OF DECOLONISATION BE EMPHATICALLY REJECTED?

Perhaps we have spoken too much about the decolonisation theory at our Congress. But a mistake in this question is no trifle. I emphatically repeat, that the theses do not contain a word regarding the mistaken theory put forward by our comrades. The theses speak only of the decolonisation lie of the imperialists and their reformist lackeys which is being spread by them as an apology for the imperialist colonial regime. This of course, is quite another matter and we have every reason to call them by their real names and to unmask them. You should read the last article of the Austrian social imperialist, Renner. He is a dangerous enemy, one of the worst lackeys of world imperialism. I am not going to quote his article. You may read it yourselves, as a horrible example. It is not all untrue what the scoundrel writes. But he puts the perspective of capitalization of the world thus: the whole world will be industralised and the socialist world revolution will be postponed till the proletariat becomes the great majority even in the colonies, etc. He opens the imperialist perspectives for the whole colonial world. This is, of course, absolutely wrong. This is the socialist conception, against which we must carry on a sharp struggle, and the falsity of which we must prove to every worker. But not all the facts put forth by these people are false. Only they substitute the unimportant for the important, and in this manner wist the reality, and embellish the "progressive" role of imperialism.

By this juggling they create the illusion that the colonial world is to be decolonized and industrialized in a peaceful manner by imperialism itself. Comrades, it is one of our main tasks to expose this imperialist pretension, this imperialist lie. The main mistake of Comrades Bennett, Rothstein and Heller lies in their not sufficiently recognising this task. This is a great mistake, a Right mistake. It must be corrected.

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THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE OF THE COLONIES

THE *DIFFERENCE* OF OPINION ON THE DECOLONISATION THEORY LEADS TO POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES AS WELL

When one starts out from the point of view of the decolonisation (industrialisation) theory, it is quite logical that the relation to the national bourgeoisie takes a totally different aspect from the description given in the draft theses. The picture drawn by Comrade Bennett is fairly consistent: imperialism plays a progressive role in the colonies, because it furthers industrialisation; the national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries, say for instance that of India; as far it benefits by industrialisation, belongs to the came camp as the imperialists; when certain conflicts between it and English imperialism arise, they centre around the question of dividing the loot (as was the case so many times formerly between trade capital and British imperialism); but inasmuch as the national bourgeoisie takes an oppositional position against imperialism, it thereby struggles against the progressive role of imperialism, and consequently, plays a reactionary role. This opposition, however, in the opinion of Comrade Bennett, will be easily liquidated by a lasting compromise. "There are," he says, "plenty of possibilities of a—perhaps at present not yet existing—understanding between this oppositional bourgeoisie and British imperialism." But when the matter is put in a way, that "Great Britian does everything, and will continue to do everything, in order to restrict the industrialisation of India" (which, according to the opinion of Comrade Bennett, is absolutely false), then—says he, "under such circumstances there is no future for any development of sharp class struggles, there is no basis for the proletarianisation; the place of the proletarian masses will be taken by the pauperised masses."

A totally different picture will be had when he starts out from the reality, which is that imperialism does in fact restrict the industrialisation of the colonies, prevents the full development of the productive forces. Under these circumstances the class interests of the colonial bourgeoisie demand the industrialisation of the country—I underline the word class interest as different from certain private and group interests—and insofar as the bourgeoisie represents its class interest in this respect, inasmuch as it stands for the economic independence of the country, for its liberation from the imperialist yoke, then it plays a certain progressive role, while imperialism plays a substantially reactionary role. The economic *independence* of *India*, or a similar colony is an aim which lies in the *national* interest, not only in the interest of the bourgeoisie,

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but also in the interest of the proletariat and the peasantry. *Therefore,* because the bourgeoisie displays this interest against imperialism one cannot condemn it. It should be condemned because it does not stand for this interest radically, nor decidedly, nor consistently, because it capitulates before imperialism and betrays the national struggle. The idea, which has been stated repeatedly in the theses, that the bourgeoisie of the colonial cuontries *capitulates* before the imperialist bourgeoisie, is unintelligible for those comrades who are of the opinion that the entire national bourgeoisie of the colonial countries, like India, Egypt, etc., simply take an anti-national, compradore position. It is self-evident that the fact that there exists an objective and even profound contradiction between the class interests of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism, and that this bourgeoisie has its own political main line which is not without special significance, does not at all mean—and this has not been emphasised in the theses—that it is capable of representing its objective class interest in a more consistent, more independent manner. The national bourgeoisie of the colonies is not able to do this. It is too *national-reformistic* to do this. This does not in anw way, exclude certain understandings on its part with imperialism. On the contrary, the national bourgeoisie *seeks* such understandings. Before all, it seeks such understandings on the questions of the struggle against the revolutionary proletarian movement and against the agrarian revolution. It also seeks economic understandings. Comrade Lenin, in his speech at the II Congress, referred distinctly to the understandings of the first kind, and this has also been underlined in our draft theses.

As against this, in the conception of Comrade Bennett, the entire basis of the contradiction between the interests of national independence of the colonies and imperialism really disappears, and with it also every contradiction of any political significance between the class interests of the national bourgeoisie and the imperialist colonial regime. With him everything is so simple: there are only two camps, a camp of counter-revolutionaries and a revolutionary camp; and within the one, as well as the other, everything is quite clear and homogeneous, without differences of political importance. In reality, however, the matter is not so simple. Not even in China is this the case, even though the Chinese revolution compared, for example, with India has as entire long stage ahead of it. National reformism, represented by various petty bourgeois groups, may attain quite a large political influence among the toiling masses as has been recognised by Comrade Strakhov, if I have correctly understood him. That is still more the case in India.

Not even in the national-revolutionary camp is everything homo-

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geneous. This camp will by no means be the same revolutionary camp in India as it will be, for instance, in Germany, or as it was there in the years of 1918—1919 or 1923. A camp of the national revolution in a colonial country will, in the first stages of the revolutionary movement, contain many very heterogeneous elements. It may, among others, contain such petty bourgeois elements which play even a Fascist role at a later stage. It is not right to embellish this camp, to depict the entire camp as one of complete unity till the end of the revolution. This is not the case. Some elements that may be our enemies tomorrow are, today, national-revolutionary. We have to look at the matter from its dynamics.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL REFORMISTS

It is just as important to see clearly the national-reformist character of the camp of the national bourgeoisie. To Comrade Bennett the entire national bourgeoisie is simply counter-revolutionary and nothing else. For instance, the Swaraj Party of India is simply a "bourgeois counter-revolutionary party," says he, literally. He does not bother to characterise it closer. But then, he presents things in a way as if, according to my opinion, this party were a "wonderful revolutionary party," as he expressed himself. No, comrades, this is not a revolutionary party. Comrade Lozovsky even asserted that my thesis contains a call for the "support" of the Swarajists, and then he made a long speech against support. No, comrades, in the thesis, on the contrary, the task is put that the Swarajists, as well as the national reformists in general, shall be "*ruthlessly unmasked*" and in no way supported. But the Swaraj Party is not a common counter-revolutionary party—there are such parties in India. Does this party carry on an anti-Bitish propaganda? Yes, this has to be admitted. Did it organise nationalist campaigns? It did. What is its program? "Liberation of India without force" the last condition, too, belongs to its program. Briefly, lots of noise and little result, this is what this party makes. Much has been quoted frim the statements of the deceased leader of this party, among which there are some quite ugly pieces. In my report I mentioned a quite counter-revolutionary article from the "Forward," the organ of the Swaraj Party, and related how the leadership of the Indian National Congress betrayed the nationalist mass movement of Bardoli in 1922. This is all true, but despite this, the Swarajists are not the *common kind of counter-revolutionaries*. They have for instance, organised and led the present boycott-action in Bardoli (refusal to pay taxes to the Government). The organ of the English imperialist bourgeoisie, the "Times," writes on the 8th of July the following about this action:

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"In the territory of 100 villages of Bardoli, with a total population of over 80,000, the respect for the law and the authorities has seriously diminished and the district officials of the Government in the whole neighbourhood depend for their supply of food on Mr. Patel (he is a Swarajist, K.) and his 'generals.' Even if peace would be concluded tomorrow, it would take years before the due respect for the lawful authorities could be re-established.

"According to the reports the discipline of the 200 Satvagraho volunteers is exemplary . . . When the Commissar visited Bardoli last month there was a complete 'Hartal.' Every house in the village that he visited was bolted and barred and the streets were perfectly deserted. When the tax collector, who personally is highly esteemed, shortly visited the place he was compelled to obtain a permit from the Satvagraho officer in order to be able to hire an automobile. But the actual struggle will take place at harvest time, because the people whose lands are under foreclosure will sow this this land and strive to gather in the harvest. The Governor would need an immense force of police to prevent this." (Retranslated from German. Tr.)

If we had a genuine Communist Party in India, then this Bardoli action would have afforded us the opportunity to utilise the mass movement: as it is, however, we could not at all take advantage of it. Naturally, this action in Bardoli was organised by the Swarajist bourgeoisie as in a laboratory, on a limited territory, where there were many more "kulak" elements than in other places and there is less danger of movement spreading directly among the wide masses of Indian peasants. This is just one of the "laboratory demonstrations" so typical of the oppositional national-reformist bourgeoisie. But it is not a counter-voluntary act. These "counter-revolutionary Swarajists" belong to the Anti-imperialist League which is sympathetic towards us. Comrade Bennett knows quite well that the whole Indian National Congress, in which the Swarajists comprise not the Right Wing, but the centre, is part of the Anti-Imperialist League. Has Comrade Bennett ever raised a protest against this? The present General Secretary of the Indian National Congress is *Nehru junior*, a nationalist-revolutionary, the leader of the "Republican Party." As against this, his father, *Nehru senior*, is a typical Swarajist leader; he participated here among other guests in the Tenth Year Anniversary Congress of the October Revolution. I mention this incident only because he was invited to come here with the participation of Comrade Bennet, who to the delegates of our Congress represents the Swarajists as being merely counter-revolutionaries.

What are the Swarajists? They are the representatives of the Indian national-bourgeoisie, they are typical national-reformists, they are typical bourgeois oppositional opportunists, nationalist chameleons. According to my opinion, it is the duty of the Communists

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within the Anti-Imperialist League to carry on a sharp struggle for the unmasking of these people. But very little will be done in India or in the League for their genuine unmasking by merely yelling that they are counter-revolutionaries and nothing else.

LENIN ON THE QUESTION OF THE POSITION OF THE OPPOSITIONAL BOURGEOISIE

We can compare the Indian Swarajists with the Cadets of Tsarist Russia. Comrade Lenin did not at that time (during Tsarism) simply relegate the cadets to the ranks of the counter-revolutionaries. Lenin has characterised them so well that I can best throw light on the question with his own words. Comrade Lenin wrote:

> "Our liberal bourgeoisie took the road of counter-revolution . . . Should we, however, conclude from this that the bourgeois liberals are counter-revolutionary, that their conflicts with the reactionary Junkers or, in general, the rivalry and the struggle between the various factions of the bourgeois liberals are counter-revolutionary . . . this would be, in fact, Menshevism turned upside down. The experiences of the Russian Revolution as well as the experiences of other countries are an undeniable proof that, when the objective conditions for a deep political crisis have developed, the smallest conflicts, which, seemingly, are the least related to the actual seat of revolution, may have the most serious significance as a starting point, as a drop which fills the cup, as a beginning of a change in the sentiments, etc. We should not forget that the Zemstvo campaign and the petition of the liberals in the year 1904, were the forerunners . . . of the 9th of January."

After some reference to the student movement of that time, Lenin then continues:

> "The radicalisation of the top strata is just a symtom which shows that the 'objective task of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia remained unsolved.' But we say: If the bourgeois radicalises itself, this means that in the powder-magazine of the Russian Revolution new powder is gathering."

Especially about the Cadets Lenin wrote:

> "This party wavers between the democratic petty-bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary elements of the big bourgeoisie. The social basis of this party is on the one hand the mass of the city population . . . on the other hand, the liberal landowners, who, with the aid of the liberalised officials, strive for a pact with absolutism . . . An extremely wide and innerly contradictary social basis of the party . . . Its program is totally bourgeois . . . The political conscience and the political understanding of the 'opportunists' consists of the fact that they grovel before those who are at present stronger in order to place obstacles in the way of the militants and to disturb them now here, now there."

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All this is a quite fitting characterisation of the Indian Swarajists too. One can likewise apply to them the following assertions of Lenin:

> "The historical role of the Russian Cadets is a transitory, a one-day role. The Cadets will fall and prepare the ground either for the burial of the revolution for a long time to come, or for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."
>
> "That the big bourgeoisie will commit betrayal is unquestionable, it already has two-thirds betrayed."

That is how Lenin put the question; he even figured the degree of the betrayal of national-bourgeoisie in thirds. This is something different from the 100% counter-revolutionary character that Comrade Bennett attributed to the oppositional Indian bourgeoisie. As Comrade Stalin stated, the Bolshevik Party of Russia, even at the time when the big bourgeoisie according to Lenin's words had already in two-thirds betrayed, put the strategic question of the revolution in the manner that for the coming period of the revolution one has to attempt to *neutralise* this bourgeoisie. If such a putting off the strategic tasks was correct at that time in Russia, is it less possible at present in India? I don't think so. Trotsky, naturally, asserts that according to our conception the national bourgeoisie of the colonies is much better, more revolutionary, etc., than the Russian bourgeoisie was during the Revolution of 1905. But this is altogether wrong, and here Comrade Bennett, who repeated this assertion, also errs. The bourgeoisie of the colonial countries is not better, but there exists a difference and this is, firstly, the vacillations of the colonial bourgeoisie, both to the Left and to the Right, are much greater, they may even swing to the Blackest reaction; secondly, the objective contradiction between their class interests and the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie are deeper than were the contradictions between the Cadets and Tsarism.

When Lenin wrote about the conflicts between the national bourgeoisie and Tsarism he gave the following important advice:

> "The proletarian party is, before all, unconditionally bound to utilise all and every conflict, to unfold these conflicts, to widen their significance, to connect with them the agitation for the revolutionary slogans, to carry the knowledge of these conflicts to the wide masses, to rally them to independent open action with their own demands, etc."

These suggestions of Lenin are embodied in our theses, but what Comrade Bennett proposes means that we make the thing just *upside down*, just contrary to what Lenin advised, and indeed not utilize, not unfold the conflicts of the national bourgeoisie with imperialism, not to broaden the significance of these conflicts, but to minimize

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them, not to connect our agitation for the revolutionary slogans with these conflicts, not to carry the message of these conflicts to the wide masses. This is not the tactic which was taught to us by Lenin, the greatest revolutionary strategist.

THE DANGERS OF NATIONAL REFORMISM

Will the national bourgeoisie of one or another colony, for instance, a part of the Indian bourgeoisie join up, even if only temporary, with the national revolutionary camp? In the draft theses this answer has been given: in all probability not. I wish to emphasize this, since some comrades interpreted in quite differently; not only Comrades Bennett and Lozovsky, but Comrade Schuller too enlarged the sense of the theses in this respect to a great extent. It is said in the theses:

> "If the national bourgeoisie (in an acute revolutionary situation) has to choose between the two camps, it will in all probability prefer the camp of the imperialists to that of the revolutionaries, and join it it (or approach to it)."

Could we, however, assert with certainty, in general theses of the C. I., that in all colonial countries the possibility is excluded that a part of the national bourgeoisie, even if for a very short period only, would join up with the national-revolutionary camp? No, we cannot do this. This was possible in China, in Syria, etc., and we cannot absolutely exclude this alternative. We can, however, say that it is very improbable. There is, for instance, the possibility to be regarded, that some other imperialist states will interfere, and particularly in such a case the role of the bourgeoisie of a colony may, temporarily, become objectively half-revolutionary. The draft theses refer to four conditions in this connection:

1. If the revolution does not rapidly expire; 2. If the immediate danger of an independent victorious class revolution is not yet clearly, not yet dangerously before the eyes of the bourgeoisie; 3. If the utilization of the masses of the people in order to force concessions from the government does not seem to be hopeless and, finally; 4. If the national bourgeoisie feels a substantial support of another capitalist state backing it up; therefore, if and when these four conditions are on hand, then even an important part of the national bourgeois can—I emphasize—can go together with the national-revolutionary camp for a part of the road. If, however, these conditions do not exist we may expect that the whole of the national-bourgeoisie will keep aloof from the national-revolutionary camp. If it comes along it comes mainly to sabotage the revolutionary movement and to betray it at the first best opportunity. This is the point of view of the theses. Of course, we do not speak here about

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the national bourgeoisie or any part of it being revolutionary or better than the counter-revolutionary compradore-bourgeoisie. We speak about something more important, we point out to our comrades the real *danger* which arises at the moment when part of the national-bourgeoisie temporarily draws near to the national-revolutionary camp, so that we are not taken by surprise, so that our comrades may keep their eyes on the most dangerous probabilities, so that they may never forget that this bourgeoisie will in any event play a treacherous role, the role of the executioner, the same as the Chinese bourgeoisie has already played, but that the greatest danger is when this bourgeoisie tries, by revolutionary phrases, to bring the masses over to its side. It is this that our comrades in the colonies must always bear in mind.

The opposition to this point of view as expressed in the theses took a three-fold character in the discussion. Firstly, on the part of Comrades Bennett and Rothstein, secondly on the part of Comrades Lozovsky, Schuller, Fokin, as well as Lominadze and Heinz Neumann and thirdly, on the part of the Chinese and Indian comrades. Since this is an important question I must give some consideration to the objections raised by the Comrades so as to put them clearly.

ON THE INTERVENTION OF ENGLAND IN AFGHANISTAN AND IN TURKEY

I want briefly to point out here how characteristic it is that when one stars out from the point of view of the decolonization or industrialization theory, then one sees not only the role of the national bourgeoisie and its national reformist role in a wrong light, but also to some extent even the role of imperialism. This was particularly expressed in a somewhat peculiar manner in the speech of Comrade Rothstein. What did he say about Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey? I quote literally:

"For example, we find here the statement that British imperialism first waged a war for the subjection of Afghanistan, but the Afghans, a small and undeveloped people, courageously defended their independence, and afterwards forced the British Government to recognize it." But what are the actual facts?—asks Comrade Rothstein. "The actual fact is that it was the Afghan king Amanulla who rose in revolt against the puppet of British imperialism in Afghanistan, as part of the general revolt of the colonial peoples against British imperialism after the war. It was not the British who declared war on him. He carried the war into India, he managed to rouse a certain ferment and a certain amount of trouble behind the British lines, with the result that the British were forced to give way."

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Comrades, if Amanulla really created a "certain amount of trouble" behind the British lines, then the man acted cleverly; that is what we must do when we get into a similar situation. But that we should not say that the British at that time conducted a war against the Afghans, but that we must say that the Afghans revolted against England, this I cannot understand. Similarly strange is the request of Comrade Rothstein that we should not lay emphasis on the occupation of Constantinople by the British, but that we must say that it was a revolt of "Angora" against finance capital; and "the situation is similar as regards Persia," said Comrade Rothstein. Comrades, if for instance, the British were to come to our Soviet fatherland, if they were to occupy Leningrad, well, we would have to say, according to the conception of Comrade Rothstein: Moscow is revolting against England. One is not permitted to say the British are conducting a war against the people of the Soviet Union. Was there a war in Afghanistan? Certainly there were battle lines, there was firing, etc. Now, when the British come to a foreign country and form their battle-lines, and when the "puppets" of the English Government are shooting—then, this is war. Certainly Comrade Rothstein is right when he says that the British did not declare war. But without declaration of war they also for a long time conducted war against the Soviet Union. It seems to me that Comrade Rothstein has read a bit too much of the English bourgeois papers and has not, with sufficient carefulness, borne in mind that these papers reflect the events of the world in a one-sided and crooked manner, particularly as far as events in the colonies and semi-colonies are concerned.

IT IS NECESSARY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE TWO STAGES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN ORDER TO OVERCOME THE TENDENCY TO JUMP OVER THE IMMEDIATE DIFFICULTIES

As already said, the section of the draft theses dealing with tactical questions was opposed by Comrades Lozovsky, Schuller and Fokin, and also by Comrades Lominadze and Heinz Neumann. All these comrades excepting Comrade Lominadze, reject the theory of decolonization or industrialization. Comrades Lozovsky and Neumann, in their speeches, distinctly dissociated themselves from this, even though Comrade Lozovsky at the same time polemized against the "theory of the hinterland" contained in the theses. Comrade Schuller put such an analogy: we do not even say that the Social Democrats will ever lean to the side of the revolution; therefore, how can we put such a thing in the perspective for the national bourgeoisie of any colony? It seems to me that the national contradiction to imperialism disappears by this analogy. If we put such an analogy then the relations of the social forces in the colonies appear to be the

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very same as in the imperialist countries. But in reality this is not the case.

These comrades demand that we should not distinguish between the two stages of the revolutionary movement before the taking over of power by the proletariat and the peasantry in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. According to my opinion, we can see these two phases quite concretely in the present historical situation in India and China: the movement in India is at present in its first stage; the movement in China is in a more mature stage. The transition from the first to the end of the second stage can, as we already emphasized in the theses, take place in the course of a single revolutionary wave. But it is also possible that the transition process will be interrupted. These various possibilities must be borne in mind by our comrades in the colonies so that they shall not be taken by surprise. In characterizing these possibilities the theses have particularly underlined the tasks confronting the Communists in this period of transition, in the development of the revolutionary wave:

> "The task of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat is, *as far as possible to take the lead of this process.* Should the revolution be now successful, then we have passed through a whole stage: the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is established. If however, the counter-revolution is victorious, then the revolution suffers a defeat; with the climax of this revolutionary wave only the first stage of the revolution ends."

Therefore, it is not at all depicted as if in every case the transition from the first stage to the second will happen in the same manner as in China. But the differentiation between the two stages is necessary, in my opinion, because they exist in reality. A defeat in the course of the transition from one stage to the other is, however, not at all necessary. We cannot however, deny every possibility of a defeat. We must emphasize the task of the Communists in this connection. And I agree that it was a correct idea which Comrade Lominadze expressed in his speech on the first point of the agenda, that it was the task of the Chinese Communists to attempt to lead the revolutionary process as far as possible in this situation of transition. We must by no means, condemn the Chinese Communists on this account, but only for the real mistakes that they committed at that time. As against this the tendency to jump over the difficulties of the first stage, without genuine effort to overcome these difficulties, is false, according to my opinion, and it was against this tendency, that I wished to guard our Parties in the colonial countries when I emphasized the difference between the two stages. The special significance of the danger of bourgeois national-reformism consists in the fact that it has mass influence, and our weakness consists in that we have not yet succeeded in India, Egypt, etc., in under-

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mining its mass influence. We should neither have nor spread any illusions about any kind of revolutionary role of the national bourgeoisie; rather we must spread the knowledge in our ranks and among the proletariat that the reformism of the national-bourgeoisie is the greatest obstacle in the way of acquiring mass influence. It would not be a good thing for our Party or the revolutionary movement in a colony if in certain circumstances the reformist bourgeoisie were to join the national-revolutionary front for a time. This would be a most dangerous situation and our comrades must be prepared for such a dangerous situation. The special task, said Lenin, of the Communists in these colonial and semi-colonial countries is the struggle against the bourgeois-democratic tendency (or, as we now call it, against national reformism) of the bourgeoisie of one's own nation. How they should and can fulfil their special tasks in the different stages of the revolutionary development, that is the question. How shall we struggle to win over the masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie? This question is not so simple that it suffices to tell our comrades, as Comrade Fokin has said: "Furious attack against the bourgeoisie" and that's all. Or as Comrade Neumann formulated this task for India:

> "One has to shout that the Communist Party must regard as the most important lesson, the national bourgeoisie will in any event betray the revolutionary movement right at the outset."

In the draft theses, it is also said that the bourgeoisie, so far as it goes with the nationalist movement at all, will betray this movement.

But one has not said that our comrades should only yell. Comrades, one yells mostly in panic or in pain. As a means of revolutionary struggle it is weak. One must know how, by right means and methods, to unmask before the toiling masses the real character of the national-reformist bourgeoisie. We have attempted in the theses to give a few directions to our Parties on the question, how to act so that this unmasking should be really successful, should bring real results, and I hope, that these directions will prove useful in practice. The next basic task for us, is that of winning the masses away from the influence of the national bourgeoisie. I had expected that Comrade Neumann would relate some of the experiences from the time of the Canton uprising, that he would have told us how better to prepare an important revolutionary action, how better to organize it, how to win the masses previously and how to mobilize the wide masses for such an action. Our Parties, and mainly those in the other colonial and semi-colonial countries, could have learned something from this. We have by all possible ways and means, to communicate these Chinese lessons to our Parties, as well as through

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such directives that should be contained in the theses. But Comrade Neumann did not make even an attempt in this direction. It should have been his task, firstly, to exercise self-criticism and secondly, to clarify the various important lessons of the Chinese revolution. And when he now presents the matter as if the Chinese bourgeoisie have won nothing at all, in the first stage of the revolution, and that the proletariat have won very much, then I have to say that one must estimate somewhat more soberly the positive as well as the negative results of the Chinese revolution.

As far as the opposition of the Chinese comrades to this part of the theses is concerned, I will say that it seems to me to a certain extent natural and even a very sympathetic opposition, Comrades, when the Party, in a case where it has suffered a defeat in the revolutionary struggle, shows a little tendency "towards the Left;" this is not a bad sign. It seems to me that the Party is really revolutionary. One cannot blame the Chinese comrades if they now estimate the objective role of the bourgeoisie in other colonial countries just as we have to judge it in the general theses of the Communist International. I remember when we established our Finnish Communist Party after the defeat of the revolution in Finland—this was just ten years ago—this our Party stood so much to the ultra-Left that I believe no Party in the world was ever so much ultra-Left. I myself, at the time of the foundation congress, formulated such a theses as: "In the revolution one does not need reason, one needs only weapons." This was understandable in the then prevailing situation, even if it was not very reasonable.

THE VARIOUS TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

I cannot say that I am in absolute agreement with all the other comrades who have spoken here. But it is not possible for me to go into a discussion of the varying opinions.

* * *

We must pay more sympathetic attention on the part of the Communist International to the Korean movement and secure for i a united leadership. We must necessarily arrive there at the liquidation of factional struggle. If we consider the Japanese capital-exports to Korea we find here another example that these by no means signify an industrialization, but rather the subjugation of the country. An immense pauperization is taking place there as a result of the colonial regime. The particular difficulty of our Party there consists in just the fact that the proletariat is so weak, that it develops so slowly and that it is so little class-conscious.

The comrades who spoke here on the Negro Question also men-

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tioned many new and important things. I quite agree that on this point there is a gap in the theses which we must fill. The question of South Africa must be examined by us, especially in the Commission. I believe that we must tell the majority of the leadership of the South African Party that they must unconditionally correct their attitude, their opposition to the slogan of the Native Republic must be given up.

What new and important things have we found in dealing with the colonial question at this Congress? Firstly, the Chinese experiences. Secondly, we have become more closely acquainted with the Indian revolutionary movement and it has come more into the foreground. Thirdly, the Latin American movement.

We have attempted now for the first time to grasp the colonial question in all its entirety. Naturally, we did this only in a deficient manner. But we can develop these questions further in the coming period through articles and directives of the Comintern, and first of all by our practical work in the various colonial countries. The Chinese revolution not only gave new and great revolutionary experiences to us and the Chinese proletariat; it also opened up a new period of great colonial revolutions in which the proletariat of the colonial countries will play an independent role, and which will have the greatest significance also for the revolutionary movement of Europe and America. This fact, comrades, places a very great responsibility on the Communist International. Comrades, we are responsible that the proletarian, the Communist leadership in these colonial revolutions shall prove capable of fulfilling its historic mission.

We emphasized in the draft theses two practical, and seemingly modest, but very important tasks, Party and Trade Unions: the building up of the Party, the organizing of independent trade unions. This I want to emphasize again. The third basic task is the winning of the masses away from the influence of the national-reformist bourgeoisie, the unmasking of this national-reformist bourgeoisie. And then, to the furious attack on imperialism and all its allies, beginning with the national bourgeoisie allied with it and ending with the scoundels of the Second International.

It is a point of theoretical dispute, comrades, whether the colonial revolutions are only an auxiliary force of the socialist world revolution, or whether they are part of it. The only important thing is comrades, that they will be our allies, allies in the struggle against imperialism and against capitalism. The European and American proletariat, hand in hand with the proletariat and the peasant masses of the colonial countries, with the colonial slaves of Africa, must rally to the struggle and to victory!

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The Metamorphosis of the British Labor Party

By M. N. ROY

The policy of a bloc with the Liberals in the coming general election as advocated by the extreme right wing, led by Philip Snowden and desired by a considerable section of the Liberal Party, has been rejected formally by the British Labor Party. None but the most naive Labor enthusiasts believe that in the next election the Labor Party will be returned with such an enlarged number as will give it a parliamentary majority required to form an independent government. Nevertheless, the leaders of the party confidently prepare themselves for office, and this being the case, the resolution of the Birmingham Conference is by no means a repudiation of the policy of coalition; for, under given conditions, the next "Labor Government" cannot be anything different from that of 1924—Labor in name, coalition in fact. Indeed, the possibility of an open Labor-Liberal Coalition Government is not altogether excluded by the refusal to form an election bloc. The result of the election will be the decisive factor in determining the tactics of the Labor Party.

Considering its tacit readiness to form a coalition government and the complete right swing of its general policy, the insistence of the Labor Party not to enter an electoral bloc with the Liberals becomes somewhat paradoxical. By this insistence it might drive the Liberals into a bloc with the Conservatives. As a matter of fact, such an anti-labor bloc has already been formed in a number of constituencies. This election agreement might develop into a government by a bourgeois bloc after the election. The leaders of the Labor Party must have taken this possibility into consideration before deciding to contest the coming election independently. Evidently their decision has been influenced by the consideration of other possibilities. Besides, the Labor Party will contest the coming elections not in coalition with the Liberals, but *as the exponents of true liberalism*. This is the key to the situation.

The following are the other considerations that evidently have influenced the determination of the electoral policy of the Labor Party. First, there is a possibility of a split in the Conservative Party on the question of protection. On the other hand, open coalition with the conservatives is very likely to hasten the decomposition of the already depleted liberal forces, in which case the left wing

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will join the Labor Party as some of its most advanced members have already done.

As a result of this likely dual-split, the bourgeois bloc in the new parliament will be without a substantial majority, if the labor forces are fairly increased in the next election, as they are sure to be. Thus, after all, a minority Labor government might again be the way out ofthe parliamentary crisis as it was in 1924. Second, an electoral bloc and then a governmental coalition with the conservatives will so discredit the Liberal Party that it will wipe out the political scene. Not particularly anxious to commit suicide, the liberals are not very likely to follow up the electoral bloc by entering a coalition government with the conservatives. So, in view of the certainty that more Labor candidates will be returned in the coming election, there again is the chance of Labor getting into office, owing to the inability of the bourgeois parties to unite or to command a working majority separately.

Thus, in any case, the chance of the Labor Party getting into office is not seriously prejudiced by the rejection of the policy of an electoral bloc with the liberals. And, in either case, in office or in opposition, the Labor Party will make a considerable advance towards its goal, namely, to take the place of the defunct Liberal Party and hold high its traditions of bourgeois radicalism. When this goal is realized, the Labor Party will be in a position to have a parliamentary majority, not representing the working class, but on the strength of having captured the votes that, today, are cast for the Liberal Party. The Labor Party refuses to make an electoral bloc with the liberals, because it wants itself to be the Liberal Party. Its new program and the Birmingham Conference have removed any doubt that might have been there as regards the direction of development of the Labor Party. The leaders of the Labor Party are well acquainted with the British Constitution and how it works. They know that under the given electoral system the Labor Party can never have a majority in the parliament by only counting upon the working class vote. So, they must angle for the vote of others, and the Labor Party must undergo a process of metamorphosis in order to win the confidence of and conciliate these latter. The coalition and bloc are taking place but not between the Labor Party and the Liberal Party. The process is much more deep-seated. It is taking place inside the Labor Party. The social basis of the Labor Party is changing. From the party of the working class, it is becoming the party of the liberal bourgeoisie *plus the working class*. This was what the Liberal Party was in the hey-days of Gladstonianism.

It is not correct to characterize the British Labor Party as a

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Social Democratic Party. It has never been one, nor is it developing into one. In its fight against Communism it adopts certain organizational features of the Social Democratic Party. But in stark opposition to the majority of its social composition (which is working class), ideologically and politically it has become a party of the liberal bourgeoisie. The traditions of Victorian radicalism, which for a considerable time hindered the birth of the Labor Party, and then essentially influenced its growth, has reasserted itself, as it were, with vengeance, in the new program of the Labor Party.

Apart from other considerations indicated above, the fear for the revolt of the masses does not allow the leaders of the Labor Party to enter into an organizational understanding with the Liberal Party, as a party. (The understanding with the social elements represented by this party is maturing every day.) But the new program testifies to complete harmony ideologically. Indeed, MacDonald & Co. gleefully greet the eclipse of the Liberal Party, and proudly present themselves before the "bereaved Nation" as the new standard-bearers of true liberalism. (This is actually stated in so many words in the new program, and repeated on innumerable occasions!) That is, what has happened is much worse than a Labor-Liberal electoral bloc or governmental coalition. *The Labor Party is transformed into a neo-Liberal Party.*

Although a working class party by social composition, the British Labor Party never committed itself fully and frankly to Socialism or accepted Marxism for its guiding principles, as all the Social Democratic Parties of the Continent did in the earliest stages of their existence. Indeed, Fabianism, which constituted the ideological foundation of the Labor Party, developed as a negation of the basic principles of Marxism. Ambiguity has all along been the main feature of the program of the British Labor Party, and its social orientation always super-class. But whatever doubt there might have been as regards the tendencies of the Labor Party, has now been definitely removed. The new program of the Labor Party, which is significantly titled "Labor and the Nation," is free from all Socialist blemish, except in meaningless phrases used in peroration and with an eye to the galleries. It is admittedly not a program of the working class. According to this document, the Labor Party "speaks, not as the agent of this class or that" and reassures the Nation against the "bogey of Socialism." The new program is a plan of how the Labor Party in office will administer the affairs of the nation and of the empire, both of which, it says, have been driven to the verge of ruin by the mismanagement of the present government.

In the new program, Socialism has been substituted by a scheme

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of "enlightened" capitalism which admits reformist social legislation. To deceive the working class it is actually stated in the program that the liberals have adopted a Socialist policy! The reverse, of course, is the true picture of the situation. The Labor Party has adopted the principles and program of bourgeois radicalism, and seeks to pass them on as "Socialist policy." It is further admitted in the program that "some among the principles for which labor has long stood are endorsed by the Liberals." The author of the program, Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues find this triumph of theirs "gratifying to observe." Here again, of course, the reverse is the truth. But provided that it is so, then, there must have been something seriously amiss with "those principles," if they could be accepted by the bourgeoisie. In any case, the evidence adduced to prove the success of the policy, shows that it could not have been a policy defending the interests of the working class.

The fact, that the "principles for which the British Labor Party has stood" ever since its birth are as much Socialistic as can be endorsed by Lloyd George, explains how a great working class party can so completely degenerate into bourgeois liberalism. The causes of the present degeneration of the British Labor Party are to be found in the history of its birth and growth, and the conditions under which it was born and thrived. Proletarian thinkers of Britain contributed much to the pre-Marxian theories of Socialism. The experience of the British proletariat is a bitter experience of fierce class-struggle. Neverthheless, the modern labor movement in no other European country was so much corrupted by bourgeois liberalism as in Britain. History explains this paradox.

The collapse of the Chartist revolt was followed by a prolonged period of depression in the British labor movement. That depression coincided with continuous prosperity of capitalism. Taking advantage of these twin factors the bourgeoisie succeeded in permeating the upper strata of the working class with the belief in political democracy, economic liberalism and social reform. While in most of the continental countries the proletariat remained largely deprived of the rights of citizenship, political democracy forged ahead in Britain. All the adult male members of the working class were enfranchised by the Reforms Act of 1867. In the 'seventies the Liberal regime introduced a whole series of progressive social legislations which were hailed by the working class as the realization of the Chartist program. Fabulous accumulation of capital in consequence of gigantic development of industries at home, monopoly of the world trade and plunder of the colonies, enabled the British bourgeoisie to create a labor aristocracy completely wedded to Gladstonian liberalism, and hostile to the Socialist propaganda of

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class-struggle. Under the leadership of that corrupt labor aristocracy, the working class discountenanced politics, leaving the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress to act as an agency of the Liberal Party.

In the 'eighties, Gladstone was the most popular man among the British workers. He had a very keen eye on organized labor, and was successful in tying it to the apron-strings of his liberalism. For the time being he did prevent organized labor in Britain from moving in the direction of theh class-struggle and Socialism. What could not be accomplished on the continent by violent and coercive measures, was done in Britain by Gladstonian liberalism. While, for example, in spite of the anti-Socialist law of Bismark, Socialism found a firm rooting among the German proletariat, the labor movement in Britain generally kept clear of the Socialist path, thanks to Gladstonian liberalism. Revolutionary workingmen and intellectuals, exiled from the continental countries, found asylum in Britain; but their propaganda, which influenced the labor movement on the continent, in spite of all obstacles, failed to make any lasting impression upon the working class in the "land of freedom." In those days, Socialism was combatted in Britain not by persecution, as on the continent, but by political bribery and ideological corruption. Incipient Socialists and prominent trade union leaders were often raised to places of "honor and distinction" in Britain. In 1834, the anarcho-communist thinker and writer, William Goodwin, was made a "Gentleman Usher" of the Royal Palace. Samuel Bamford, a working man who took a leading part in the Peterloo demonstration, was given a Court appointment in 1849. Later, Gladstone admitted into his cabinet trade union leaders for meritorious services rendered to liberalism. In 1886, Menry Broadhurst became an under-secretary of state. The process of bribery and corruption culminated in the veteran labor leader John Burns becoming a member of the liberal cabinet of Campbell-Bannerman in 1906.

The pernicious effect of this policy of bribery and corruption could not last forever; but it did influence the British labor movement so profoundly as to distort its subsequent development. For example, even today, when the British bourgeoisie have completely discarded the mask of liberalism (the economic foundation having been eliminated), and the working class is slowly but steadily moving in the unavoidable path of revolution, when class-war rages in fierce nakedness throughout the country, we find J. H. Thomas eulogizing the political institutions of Britain, under which he could "become a cabinet minister from a humble engine-cleaner."

In course of time, the factors that enabled the British bourgeoisie

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to bribe the thin stratum of labor aristocracy, and through it corrupt the entire labor movement ideologically, began to lose their force. Britain's monopoly of the world market was threatened by the growth of industry in other countries. The successful competition of the American and German industries thriving behind tariff walls, caused doubt about the doctrine of free trade. In the middle of the 'eighties there began a serious depression of trade. In spite of the trade union leaders, who still believed in liberalism and opposed Socialism, class-struggles began to develop. Great strikes took place. In 1887, there were nearly a million workers unemployed. Liberalism had not given the working class anything more substantial than formal political rights, and a glowing promise of heaven on earth as regards economic and social conditions. The promise remained still a promise unfulfilled. Dissatisfaction grew everywhere. Finally there was demand for "independent labor politics."

The propaganda of Marxian Socialism had begun in Britain with the foundation of the Social Democratic Federation in 1881. But it had not made any headway. In the Trade Union Congress of 1887 Keir Hardie openly condemned the liberalism of the labor leaders, and proposed that labor should be independently represented in parliament. Thus began the process of freeing the working class from the influence and control of the bourgeoisie. But what Keir Harie and his followers desired was mere organizational freedom. The attempt to break the much stronger and more harmful ideological bondage was still to be made, and the success of the attempt was a very far cry. The conditions favorable for the attempt were maturing. Despite the corrupt trade union leaders, Socialist propaganda, carried on by small bodies of advanced workers and de-classed intellectuals, slowly but steadily penetrated the proletarian ranks. Liberalism had signally failed to give anything to the working class. Unemployment became a permanent feature of social conditions. Strikes were frequently taking place to defend the interests of the workers. Flouting openly the doctrines of Mill, which had previously blinded the working class by their glamor, the bourgeoisie ruthlessly crushed the efforts of the workers to improve their conditions. Even the Trade Union Acts of the 'seventies, which had so thoroughly won organized labor for liberalism, were attacked.

Such an atmosphere of maturing class-struggle, naturally, was favorable to the growth of organizations having for their object the liberation of labor from liberalism, and the inauguration of independent labor politics, which, if anything, could only be the struggle of the proletariat for Socialism. Indeed, all the organizations advocating independent labor politics were under Socialist

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leadership, and more or less committed to the program of Marxian Socialism. It was at that juncture that the Fabian Society came into existence. While the modern labor movement in Britain was showing the first signs of class-consciousness, and beginning the striving towards the path of Socialism, there appeared on the scene a group of bourgeois intellectuals with doctrines of pseudo-socialism. The objective role of the Fabian Society was to divert the British working class from the revolutionary way. Its doctrines were a representation of the exploded principles of bourgeois social reform, dressed up in socialist garb. Class antagonism had developed to such a pitch that the more advanced sections of the proletariat could no longer be kept away from Socialism with the deceptive lure of liberalism. So, a fraudulent version of Socialism was created. Fabianism was nothing but liberalism reborn.

The aims of the Fabian Society as stated in its report to the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress held in London in 1896, was "to persuade the nation to make its political constitution thoroughly democratic, and so to socialize its industries to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of the capitalist." Admittedly, the Fabian Society was not a working class organization. It did not recognize the basic fact that capitalist society is divided into antagonistic classes. It directed its appeals "to the men and women *of all classes* who saw the evils of society and desired to remedy them." These sentences written thirty-two years ago laid the ideological foundation of the British Labor Party which was subsequently formed. The Labor Party never freed itself from the Fabian Social reformist outlook. The liberal social reformist ideology, with which it came into existence, is the key-note of the new program of today. Strictly speaking one cannot accuse the British Labor Party of having betrayed Socialism; it never really accepted Socialism. The new program makes this clear. It is the "return of the native" to the pristine purity of his spiritual home.

Indeed, the ideological foundation of the British Labor Party was laid by those whose declared mission was to refute the revolutionary theories of Karl Marx. The ideologist and founder of the Fabian Society, Sidney Webb, was the first "socialist" who set himself the task of revising the epoch-making findings of Karl Marx. So, the British Labor Party was not corrupted by revisionism. It was born under the shadow of revisionism. This is the fundamental difference between it and the Social Democratic Parties of the continent. Sidney Webb, assisted by Bernard Shaw, pointed out the political changes that had taken place in Britain since the enactment of the Reform Bill of 1867, to prove that Marxian theories of class struggle and revolution were not ap-

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plicable to the new situation. Whig individualism had given way to the liberal doctrines of collectivism and social reform. This together with the political rights and economic gains made by the working class, in the opinion of the Fabian ideologists, refuted the theory of irreconcilable class antagonism, and eliminated the necessity of revolution. They argued that theories constructed on the basis of conditions prevailing in pre-democratic days, could not be applicable in a democratic country where the state had undertaken the task of social reform. An examination of the basic principles of Fabianism does not leave room for any doubt as regards its historic role which was to revive decayed bourgeois liberalism with a fraudulent new label—that of Socialism. Just when the bourgeoisie were discarding the philosophical radicalism of Bentham and political liberalism of Mill, the Fabians began their futile fight against the Marxian theories of class struggle and revolution precisely with these discredited and discarded weapons. Admittedly, Sidney Webb was an opponent of Marx. But he was not even a progeny of pre-Marxian British Socialists. He was the disciple of John Stuart Mill, and spiritual grand-child of Jeremiah Bentham. His mission was to smuggle into the working class movement the capitalist doctrine of utilitarianism with the fraudlent label of Socialism. Webb continued the services of Mill to the bourgeoisie—to construct a comprehensive system of the collectivist theory of social reform, as against the unrestricted individualism of the days of primitive accumulation, which would take off the unbearably sharp edges of capitalist exploitation, and lull the proletariat into a deceptive conception of bourgeois democracy.

The Fabians not only rejected the Marxian theories of class struggle and revolution; their "Socialism," which the British Labor Party eventually accepted under the pressure of the masses, even did not countenance the abolition of the wage system. It was, of course, logical that the wage system cannot be abolished, so long as society remains split up into classes. Fabian Socialism "by no means involved abolition of wages."* The Fabians also maintained that the demand that the workers should be the owners of the whole product of their labor, was impractical. In view of these fundamental principles of their theoretical system, the "socialization" of industries advocated by the Fabians essentially did not imply anything more radical than state or municipal *administration*. This was an elaboration of the collectivist theory of state evolved by bourgeois political philosophers upon the breakdown of unrestricted individualism. Indeed in the program of the Fabian Society it is stated that it "aims at the reorganization of society by the emancipa-

*Report to the International S. and T. U Congress of London in 1896.

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tion of land and induustrial capital from individual and class ownership." The attainment of this aim will be the transformation of the bourgeois democratic state into a huge, all-absorbing, monopolist capitalist trust. For the democratic state is the corner-stone upon which the Fabian Socialist castle will be built. Granted that the aim is the abolition of capitalist exploitation and overthrow of the bourgeois state, it can never be realized by the methods recommended. It is taken for granted by the Fabians that everybody is interested in the social transformation pleaded by them, or can be persuaded to be interested. With this supposition belied innumerable times before and since their theories were constructed, the Fabians emasculated Socialism by disassociating it from the class struggle, and the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state.

The assertion in the new program of the Labor Party that a section of the British bourgeoisie has adopted "some of the principles for which labor has long stood," and the reiteration in the same document that the Labor Party would attain its goal "by peaceful means, without disorder or confusion, with the consent of the majority of the electors and by the use of the ordinary machinery of democratic government," are in strict conformity with the neo-liberal ideology with which the Labor Party was born. These are a re-vindication of the Fabian anti-socialist theories.

* * * *

The events leading up to the formation of the Labor Party were marked by a struggle between revolutionary Socialism and camouflaged liberalism for the ideological control of the nascent organization. The revolt of Keir Hardie culminated in the foundation of the Independent Labor Party in 1893. Nearly all of the 120 delegates present at the inaugural conference professed Socialism; but the declared object of the new party was not to propagate "doctrinaire socialism," but to promote the formation of an independent political party of the working class. In 1900 a conference, representing over half a million organized workers, was held in London as a result of the activities of the Independent Labor Party. The conference decided to put up independent labor candidates in the parliamentary elections, and set up the Labor Representation Committee to enlist the sympathy and support of organized labor for the new movement, Three years later the Labor Representation Committee assumed the name of Labor Party. It should be noted that the characteristic feature of that first period of organizing activities was the discount placed upon Socialist propaganda even by those who called themselves Socialists.

The debate in the London Conference over the aim of the prospective Labor Party was very significant. It indicated that even the

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so-called "advanced men" headed by Keir Hardie, advocated but organizational separation of labor from the bourgeois Liberal Party. They were not yet free from the traditions of liberalism, under the dark shadow of which the Labor Party came into existence.[1] The conference rejected the old policy of collaboration with the liberals. John Burns defended the old policy. Disgusted by the atmosphere of the conference he exclaimed:

> "I am getting tired of working class boots, working class trains, working class houses and working class margarine. We should not be prisoners to class prejudice, but should consider parties and policies apart from all class organization."

John Burns was defeated in the London Conference; but his spirit lived through the years of storm and stress to be welcomed by the Labor Party twenty-seven years later in the form of the new program adopted at Birmingham. In 1928, Ramsey MacDonald avenged John Burns by making the Labor Party declare at the Birmingham Conference:

> "The Labor Party speaks, not as the organ of this class or that, but as the political organ created to express the needs and voice the aspirations of all who share in the labor which is the lot of mankind." (New Program.)

How did this happen? How could the Labor Party revert to the traditions of anti-proletarian liberalism, the revolt against which marked its birth? The Labor Party has relapsed into the flagrantly anti-working class view and policy, which it condemned at its birth, because, at the same time, it refused to take its stand on a clearly defined Socialist policy, and began its career under ambiguous colors. Together with the liberalism of John Burns the London Conference also discarded the point of view that, in order to be really a party of the working class, the Labor Party must unequivocally subscribe to the principles of revolutionary Socialism, and lead the proletariat in the class struggle. The London Conference rejected a resolution which contained the following statement:

> "That the representatives of the working class in the House of Commons shall form there a distinct party based upon a recognition of a class struggle, and having for its ultimate object the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange."

This was not a comprehensive statement of the principles of revolutionary Socialism, free from the germs of opportunism and

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[1]The present policy of no election bloc, but government coalition essentially on the basis of bourgeois democracy and enlightened capitalism, is completely in accord with the spirit of the London Conference.

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reformism. Nevertheless, the London Conference rejected it in favor of the following clearly opportunist formula proposed by Keir Hardie:

> "That this conference is in favor of establishing a distinct Labor group in Parliament, who shall agree upon its own policy, which must embrace a readiness to cooperate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labor."

This loose formulation of the aim and policy of the party gave it a free hand to develop into anything but a revolutionary Socialist Party fighting consistently and resolutely for one object, namely the defense and promotion of the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. No policy was fixed, and the "readiness to cooperate with any party" kept the way open for the resurrection of Liberal-Labor collaboration (or coalition) under changed conditions in the future. As nothing about the ultimate goal of the working class movement was mentioned, tacitly the new party was committed to reformism from its very birth. It was to be a political replica of the trade unions carrying on collective bargaining inside the parliament. From the opportunist course taken at the very beginning it can be logically inferred that what was desired by the promoters and founders of the Labor Party was that organized labor should have independent political organization with the object of holding high the banner of the traditions of philosophical radicalism, political democracy and social reform, betrayed by the bourgeoisie. This being the case, when today the leaders of the Labor Party proudly declare themselves as the defenders of true liberalism, they speak the historical truth and speak in the spirit with which the party came into existence. These opportunist traditions made it possible for the Fabian theorists, bourgeois radicals and trade union bureaucrats to combat successfully the penetration of the Labor Party by Socialism.

The proletariat, however, cannot for ever be kept away from the path of Socialism. Their very existence is a testimony for class-struggle, which grows sharper simultaneously with the development of capitalist production. And the sharpening of the class struggle drives the proletariat toward the fight for Socialism. In spite of all obstacles, class-consciousness developed among the British proletariat. Finally, in the latter years of the World War, class-struggle became a reality of every day life, and Socialism was a practical question for the working class. Fabianism again came to the rescue. Indeed, it was for such emergencies that it had kept itself in readiness. Under the pressure of sharpening class struggle and growing revolutionary class-consciousness of the proletariat the Labor Party

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was obliged to accept Socialism as its goal. The fraudulent Fabian variety was useful to placate the masses without essentially altering the liberal ideology and outlook of the Labor Party.

In the new Constitution adopted in 1918 the aim of the party was stated as "to secure for the producers by hand and brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of common ownership of the means of production, etc."

Under the pressure of the masses, actually engaged in class-struggle, the Labor Party came to the verge of breaking away from the ideology of bourgeois liberalism. The Socialism falteringly accepted in 1918 exceeded the limits of Fabianism. For, by the resolution of 1918 the Labor Party admitted the right of the workers to the full fruit of their labor, which Fabian social engineering had declared impractical. The high priest of Fabianism, Sidney Webb, himself began singing the song of the "New Social Order" which it was Labor's mission to create. The struggle between Socialism and Liberalism, which had gone on inside the Labor Party ever since its foundation, reached a critical stage. The forces of Socialism had gathered strength, and threatened to overwhelm those of Liberalism. The latter were obliged to manoeuvre for position. They decided to beat a strategic retreat which was a camouflaged attack. They saved the Labor Party for bourgeois liberalism by hoisting false colors. The move of the bourgeois liberal and conservative trade union leaders was successful. It sabotaged the development of the labor movement consciously towards the struggle for Socialism, and diverted it temporarily from the road of revolution. The masses were once again deceived. They were told that the Labor Party would take up the fight for Socialism, in accordance with their demand. But such a promise from the leaders, traditionally wedded to the anti-socialist doctrines of bourgeois democracy and social reform, was but an empty phrase, as it has been demonstrated now, after ten years.

Finally, the historic struggle inside the British Labor Party has ended in a complete victory of bourgeois liberalism. Therefore the task of the vanguard of the British proletariat is no longer the struggle for the capture of the British Labor Party, in order to transform it into a formidable weapon in the fight against capitalism; but to expose it and attack it as a political organ of the bourgeoisie endeavoring to induce the working class to help the reconstruction of the shaken structure of capitalist society.

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The Decline of the American Federation of Labor

SOME SERIOUS ERRORS IN COMRADE FOSTER'S ARTICLE ON THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Comrade Foster's article entitled "The Decline of the American Federation of Labor" contains many correct views in its critical analysis of the American Federation of Labor. This analysis does not dig deep enough, but at least it does not contain fundamental errors. But the second part of the article, which deals with the perspectives of the American Federation of Labor and with the tasks confronting our Party on the trade union field, is so manifestly erroneous that the whole article can be printed only as a *discussion article*, and the comrades must be warned not to take it as an expression of the views of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Comrade Foster accuses the spokesmen of the Central Executive Committee of maintaining an erroneous attitude towards the perspectives of the American Federation of Labor:

> "A clarification of it is especially necessary now in view of the development of incipient theories, notably in the writings and speeches of Comrades Pepper, Lovestone, and Weinstone, which foresee a regrowth of the old unions. Thus, at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Pepper declared: '*The world hegemony of American imperialism serves as a basis for the further growth of American reformism* and creates the possibilities for the further growth of the American Federation of Labor.'"

First of all, it is necessary to protest against such unfair methods of quoting, which cite the first part of a statement and entirely omit the second part. Comrade Foster maintains a deadly silence as to the second half of Comrade Pepper's statement at the World Congress, which reads:

> "On the other hand, *the contradictions arising from the growing power of American imperialism create possibilities for the growth of the radicalization of the masses*, for the increase of the Communist mass movement. I want to emphasize: it is a *two-fold process*, and it amounts to political blindness to overlook one or the other side of it."

Such polemicizing methods as Comrade Foster applies in his article will not lead to a "clarification" of the issues before the Party in regard to the perspectives of the American Federation of Labor and a new unionism in the United States, but must lead to confusion

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and to deliberate distortion of the views of responsible Party comrades.

Comrade Foster fails to mention that not only Comrades Lovestone, Weinstone, and Pepper but also the May Plenum of the C. E. C. put forward the analysis that the world hegemony of American capitalism creates the basis for the further persistence of reformism, and that the contradictions of American capitalism create the possibility for the growth of new unionism and for a mass Communist Party.

Comrade Foster at the same time, of course, *fails to mention that the Theses of the Sixth World Congress on the International Situation maintain the same perspective about the possibilities of growth of reformism in Europe and America*:

> "Notwithstanding the growing acuteness of the class struggle, *reformism in the European and American labor movement reveals symptoms of virility and political tenacity.* The general social and economic basis of this fact is the slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism, in the course of which some of the principal parts comprising the capitalist system are on the up-grade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline."

Comrade Bucharin, in his official report in the name of the E. C. C. I. at the World Congress, said the following:

> *"It may be said that, on the one hand, the process of stabilization creates an economic basis for Social Democracy and, on the other hand, the contradictions of stabilization create a basis for the development of the Communist Parties. Hence, we frequently observe a parallel growth in the influence of both the Communists and the Social Democrats."*

These quotations show very clearly that the formulations given in the Resolution of the May Plenum of the C. E. C. of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and in the articles and speeches of Comrades Pepper, Lovestone, and Weinstone are exactly the same formulations as contained in the Theses of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern on the International Situation and in the Report of Comrade Bucharin.

Comrade Foster is at variance with the position of the Communist International on this as on many other questions.

Comrade Foster further develops the basically erroneous theory that, *if the old unions are maintained or will grow, there is no place nor possibility for the development of new class trade unions*:

This "theory" of Comrade Foster's is a very dangerous one, and must be rejected emphatically by the entire Party.

Comrade Foster's theory leads inevitably to pessimism regarding the future possibilities of new unionism in this country. If it is a fact—and to challenge the existence of these facts amounts to polit-

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ical blindness—that "reformism in the European and American labor movement reveals symptoms of virility and political tenacity" and that the stabilization of capitalism in Europe and the world hegemony of American capitalism serve as the social and economic basis for the persistence and possible growth of reformism—then, according to Comrade Foster's theory, there is no possibility for any development of new unionism.

Comrade Foster can conceive of the growth of new unions only if the old unions are completely eliminated from the picture. Comrade Foster's conception does not see the *different class basis* of old and new unionism. The A. F. of L. unionism, as it exists, is based mainly on the *labor aristocracy. The new unionism must be based on the huge masses of unskilled workers, on the proletariat proper.* On the basis of its world hegemony American capitalism may be in a position to bribe large sections of the working class and crystallize a broad stratum of the labor aristocracy. At the same time, the growing contradictions of American capitalism are inevitably stirring up mass discontent and creating radicalization among the ranks of the unskilled masses. Therefore, the growth of the organizations of the labor aristocracy and the tenacity of the ideology of social reformism parallelling the growth of organizations of the unskilled workers, the growth of new unionism, the spread of class-struggle ideology, and the growth of a mass Communist movement is quite possible and quite probable. Contrary views, as maintained by Comrade Foster and his associates in the Party, lead to pessimism, to a skeptical attitude toward new unionism, and are harmful to the whole trade union policy of our Party.

Comrade Foster's erroneous conception of and lack of understanding of the development of social reformism and new unionism lead inevitably to a harmful *under-estimation of the role and influence of social reformism* in this country:

> "The main reliance of the employers for propagating reformist illusions among the workers is not so much the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party as their own engineer-economist, company-union apparatus; in this period, although the A. F. of L. and the S. P. are in decline, the propagation of reformist illusions is on the increase."

The A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods still embrace about three million workers. These organizations are today the sole mass organizations existing within the working class. The influence of these reformist organizations—with their Jingoist policies, with their ideology of class collaboration, with their anti-Communist hatred—exercises an influence which is much larger than their own membership and has the most dangerous, most poisonous effect upon

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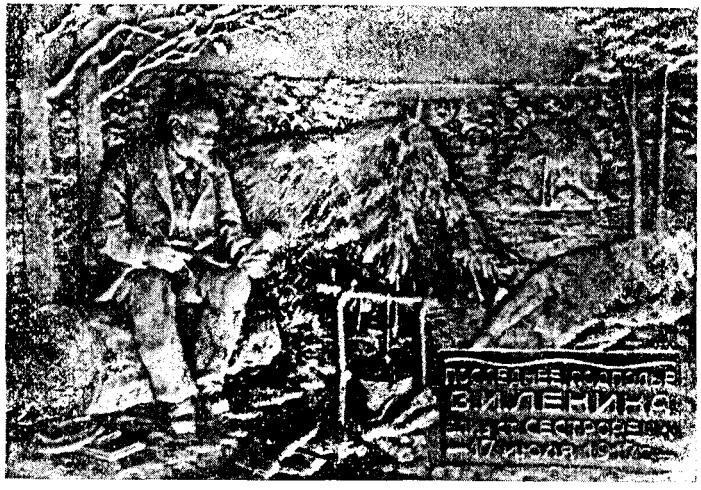
the minds of many millions of workers. The A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhood organizations are enemies of the working class, are organizations of the labor aristocracy, are part and parcel of the whole imperialist apparatus of the bourgeoisie; but still it is an unquestionable fact that these organizations have an influence upon millions of unskilled workers, upon the minds of huge masses of truly proletarian elements of the working class. To overlook this basic fact amounts to a harmful underestimation of the influence of social reformism and makes the successful combatting of social reformism well-nigh impossible.

The whole conception of Comrade Foster and his associates in the Party, which looks so radical at first glance, is in reality an opportunist conception, a Right deviation from the correct line of the Communist International. Our Party must reject this conception, because it would decrease the vigor of our struggle against social reformism, would shake the faith of the workers in the possibility of building new unions, would confuse the Party membership about the counter-revolutionary social function of the labor aristocracy, and would lead to a complete abandonment of the three million workers organized in the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods to the most corrupt labor bureaucracy in the world.

EDITOR.



Lenin in his last hiding place at Sestroretsk, near Leningrad, just before the October Revolution. A plaque by Vassintinski of the Leningrad Academy of Arts. Press Cliche.

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The Decline of the American Federation of Labor

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The 48th annual convention of the A. F. of L., held in New Orleans beginning November 19, demonstrated afresh the rapid decline and degeneration of the old trade unions as labor organizations. Tendencies for the subordination of the movement to the capitalists are being strengthened; tendencies for developing the old trade unions into a real working class organization are being weakened. The A. F. of L. is becoming more and more the tool of American imperialism. The convention was the most reactionary in the history of the A. F. of L.

FOR THE IMPERIALIST WAR

More boldly and blatantly than ever the corrupt labor bureaucrats who comprise the A. F. of L. convention, worked to further the war program of American imperialism. The whole war plan of the capitalists was endorsed: the 15 cruiser program, the Hoover trip to Latin America, attacks upon the Soviet Union, invasion of Nicaragua, the Kellogg peace pact, rationalization and all the rest of it. The militaristic speeches of P. V. McNutt, National Commander of the American Legion, and Colonel Ross of the United States Army, were wildly applauded. The convention was a riot of jingoism, thinly veiled with a hypocritical pacifism.

The convention showed that American imperialism, in its struggle for world imperialist dominion, may depend upon active support of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to demoralize and disorganize the working class in the developing war. About the only qualification the convention put upon the capitalist war plans was that 8 of the 15 proposed cruisers should be built by union men. The bureaucracy are for the war, but they want a union label on it. They are jackals of American imperialism. The central effect of the convention was to even more deeply graft the trade unions on to the great war machine.

FOR CAPITALIST RATIONALIZATION

Capitalist rationalization, part of the war program, received aggressive support at the convention. Not struggle against the employers, but cooperation with them, was the slogan. More definitely than ever before the strike was repudiated in theory and practice.

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The Executive Council's report declared that the "economic statesmen" of labor base their program not upon strikes but upon "conference and discussion" with the employers. The national anti-strike law, now being worked up by the American Bar Association and the A. F. of L. leadership was heartily endorsed. The infamous Watson-Parker anti-strike railroad law was again blessed as real progress.

While the coal operators were tearing the United Mine Workers to pieces, this reactionary convention prattled about developing a "partnership" in industry between the workers and the capitalists. It invited the employers afresh to join with the trade union leaders o speed up the workers, under the guise of "improving production standards," and "developing systematic cooperation to make production effective." The "fight" against company unionism was envisaged merely as a campaign of "fact-finding and education" to convince the employers that the trade unions (Woll style) are better than company unions for intensifying the exploitation of the workers. It was a sheer waste of words for the convention to declare "we have no revolutionary purpose to overthrow the present social system."

A CRUMBLING ORGANIZATION

The decline in the A. F. of L.'s membership continues. The official report claimed a membership of 2,896,063, or 83,537 more than in 1927. But these figures are manifestly faked. Half of the so-called increase is accounted for by the reaffiliation of the Railway Clerks. The figure is further discounted by the fact that the UMWA, although it has dropped to 200,000 members, is still listed at 400,000. Correct figures would show a decline during the past year of at least 100,000 in the membership of the A. F. of L.

As the A. F. of L. declines numerically it is also gradually driven out of the key and basic industries. More and more it tends to become a skilled workers' organization in the lighter, more competitive industries. This tendency was vastly increased by the break up of the United Mine Workers. At present, of the 2,500,000 actual members in the A. F. of L., 980,000 are in the building trades, 152,000 in printing trades, 130,000 in amusement trades, 125,000 in government and municipal employ. Less than 600,000 of the members are employed in the railroad, metal, coal, and general transport industries. This tendency, one of the most significant signs of the breakdown of the old unions in the face of trustified capital, has been going on without let up since 1920. Consequently, with ever-narrowing base, the A. F. of L. becomes less and less the organ of struggle of the masses.

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Moreover, the skilled worker base of the A. F. of L. in the competitive industries is also being rapidly undermined. Trustification and mechanization in these industries, together with the specialization which is breaking down the traditional crafts, is increasingly rendering the old unions powerless to maintain themselves in the face of the employers' open shop drive. Recent spectacular evidences of this undermining process are the devlopment of the vitaphone, tele-typesetter, and automatic train control, which threaten to catastrophically wipe out three of the strongest craft unions in the A. F. of L., the Musicians, Typographical, and Railroad Telegraphers Unions. Conservative craft unionism is being crushed in trustifying American industry.

FAILURE IN ORGANIZATION WORK

The convention registered again the total inability of the A. F. of L. to organize the unorganized. At the 1927 convention it was announced with a great fanfare of trumpets that the A. F. of L. would organize the new indusries in the South. But nothing was accomplished, any more than in the campaigns of the previous three years to "organize" the steel and automobile industries. Not a handful of workers was organized in any instance. The A. F. of L. "organizing" campaigns fall flat.

The latest convention resounded again with talk of organizing the unorganized. This was partly due to a realization of the growing crisis in the unions, to the pressure of the newly organized left unions in the mining, textile, and needle industries, the pressure of the discontented masses, and to the standing necessity of the A. F. of L. to make a pretense of representing the interests of the whole working class. The convention threw out the slogan "Double Trade Union Membership in 1929." But nothing will come of it in concrete organization. It is only a gesture. To organize the unorganized in American trustified industries necessitates a policy of struggle, a militant offensive against the employers. This can only be carried out by the left wing, led by the Communist Party, and through the establishment of a new industrial unionism. The A. F. of L., with its failing ranks, its program of class collaboration, craft unionism, and corrupt leadership, is not on the offensive against capital but in retreat before its attacks.

A CAPITALISTIC UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

In its handling of the unemployment problem the convention showed the utter bankduptcy of the A. F. of L. leadership. While recognizing the existence of heavy unemployment, it took no steps

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to meet the problem by a mass struggle for a shorter work-day and work-week, and by an organized political movement for state benefits for the unemployed. Its boasted five-day week achievements embrace not more than 150,000 workers, principally in the building trades. The convention accepted the current capitalistic "remedies" for unemployment, speeding up the workers in industry and the Hoover three billion dollar reserve building fund.

The first of these, the speed up, which the Executive Council stated would cause "a stabilization of industry that will bring regularity of work," can only cause an intensification of unemployment by throwing additional masses of workers out of jobs. It is on a par with Lewis's plan to close the "uneconomic" mines and to drive 300,000 miners out of the coal industry. The second proposal, Hoover's reserve building fund, was enthusiastically accepted as a cure for unemployment. This scheme, a part of the Foster and Catchings impossible program of liquidating the crises in capitalist economy and establishing "permanent prosperity," will prove, if any attempts are made to put it into actual practice, a powerful means to crack the building trades unions and to sharpen the unemployment problem generally. Hoover, an industrial engineer, already gives us a taste of the Capitalist Efficiency Socialism illusions developed in such profusion and under so many guises by his fellow efficiency engineers.

FOR A HIGH TARIFF

Indicative of the increasing subordination of the A. F. of L. leaders to the capitalists was the formation, during the convention, of the American Wage Earners Protective League. The purpose of this organization is to support the capitalist drive for a higher tariff. Seventeen organizations are affiliated to this body, including Photo Engravers, Boot & Shoe Workers, Glass Workers, Cigarmakers, Hatters, Potters, Wallpaper Makers, Steel Workers, Pattern Makers, Wire Weavers, Paper Makers, Brick Workers, Lithographers, Scenic Painters. Matthew Woll is its president, and the organization has the open support of William Green.

When the A. F. of L. was founded in 1881, the high tariff principle was endorsed under pressure of the then powerful Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, an organization notoriously controlled by the steel magnates. In 1882, however, on the theory that the benefits of the "protective" tariff were "not passed on to the workman," the Federation rescinded its action. Gompers, himself an avowed free trader, says (P. 232 Vol. 1, "Seventy Years of Life and Labor"): "We repealed the declaration of Pittsburgh (1881) and thenceforward our federation remained neutral on this controversial question."

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"Neutrality" remained the official A .F. of L. policy, except in individual cases when boss-controlled unions from time to time demanded and secured A. F. of L. endorsement of high tariff for the commodities they respectively produced. The general trend, as the leadership fell more under control of the bosses, was towards the support of high tariff. But the formation of the new tariff league is a long leap towards more complete acceptance of this employers' policy. Significant is it that Matthew Woll, bell-wether of big capital in the A. F. of L. is its President. Although the new tariff league has only 250,000 members, it foreshadows a general adoption of the high tariff by the A. F. of L. leaders, in direct violation of the interests of the workers.

FOR THE TRUSTS

As the A. F. of L. leaders appear more and more as advocates of high tariff, so do they increasingly give direct aid to the formation of capitalist trusts, at the expense of the workers. The New Orleans convention was notable for the absence of all attacks on the trusts. In the past the A. F. of L. participated in the various "trust busting" and regulation movements that developed from time to time. In 1899 the Federation advocated nationalizing the trusts. As late as 1920 the A. F. of L. proposed to nationalize the railroads, coal mines, and other basic industries (Plumb Plan), and in the 1924 election campaign, supported LaFollette's program of trust regulation.

But now this pecking at the trusts is being stopped. As real agents of big capital, the reactionary labor leaders increasingly come forward as advocates of capitalist trustification—all they ask is the privilege of establishing their company-unionized trade unions. Matthew Woll sounded the keynote for this fresh surrender to big capital in his recent article in the "American Federationist" entitled "Labor's Volte-Face on the Trusts." John L. Lewis's open collaboration with the big coal operators to trustify the coal industry at the expense of the miners, typifies the A. F. of L. leaders' decisive attitude towards the trusts.

CAPITALIST RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION

The A. F. of L. has long violently championed the restriction of immigration, on the ground that this, by diminishing the supply of labor power, is protective of American workers' interests. The New Orleans convention produced a fresh series of demands to restrict immigration from Mexico and Latin America, the Philippines, Canada, etc. All this was done in the short-sighted, job-trust spirit of craft unionism. It indicates a total misunderstanding and

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rejection of the principles of internationalism. The A. F. of L. leaders again went even to the absurd extent of refusing to affiliate with the yellow Amsterdam International as being too revolutionary. It is a manifestation of anti-working class naturalization which receives its worst expression by supporting the capitalist class in its imperialist wars.

The existing immigration restriction laws are hailed by conservative labor leaders as a great victory for the toilers, and announced by the capitalists as a profound concession to the working class. But neither allegation is correct. Immigration restriction, while it may favor the few privileged, organized skilled workers, is essentially a basic necessity for American capitalism in this era of rationalization, and it was adopted in the interest of the employers. The latter now have no need of floods of immigrants from Europe. They secure an abundance of surplus labor power to operate the industries and to use as a club against wage scales, through the rationalization of industry, which makes hundreds of thousands of workers superfluous, and through the chronic crisis in agriculture which has driven 3,000,000 farmers into the cities and which will so drive millions more, by the migration of masses of Negroes to the North, etc. With 4,000,000 now unemployed and more in prospect, and confronted with the great problem of financially relieving the chronic unemployed, why should the employers bring in more workers, especially revolutionary European workers? The capitalists use the immigration restriction also as a basis for a great campaign of patriotic Americanization, in which they are supported by the labor bureaucrats.

A GENERAL SPIRIT OF REACTION

In every field the convention displayed a deeply reactionary spirit. No steps were taken to amalgamate the hopelessly obsolete craft unions. The burningly important Negro question was passed over without a word. The work of getting Mooney and Billings released was sabotaged by a meaningless resolution. Warnings about the dangers in labor banking foreshadow a new collapse of the B. of L. E. enterprises. The same old gang of labor crooks were elected to head the movement, except for Duncan, first vice-president, who died, and Tobin, treasurer, who resigned. The height of reaction was reached in expunging from the records all reference to Professor Dewey because he wrote mildly in favor of Soviet Russia.

Nothing was heard in the convention about a labor party. Never was the affiliation of the leaders to the two old parties more closely cemented. The leadership had just completed during the national

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elections one of the most shameless political sell-outs in the history of American labor, with these misleaders openly prostituting themselves to the champions of big capital, Hoover and Smith. Result, the workers were a zero in the elections. Yet the convention had the brass to declare that "We are very hopeful that the majority of the members of congress will be friendly to the legislative program of the A. F. of L."

A similar spirit of reaction prevailed in the machine-ruled, boss-controlled individual conventions of trade union bodies held preceding the A. F. of L. convention, such as the Illinois Federation of Labor, and the Carpenters and Machinists Unions. In "Labor Unity" for December, Wm. Simons thus describes the growing reaction in the once militant and progressive Machinists Union:

> "The Atlanta convention, 1928, moved backward. In Detroit (3 years ago), the 4 year term for officers was defeated; Atlanta carried it. In Detroit, after some discussion, 35 votes were registered against the B & O plan as against 126 votes for the Plan; at Atlanta the Plan was endorsed without discussion. In Detroit . . . Amalgamation . . . was carried. At Atlanta, the amalgamation resolution was defeated without discussion. The Detroit convention adopted a resolution for recognition of Soviet Russia; Atlanta defeated it without discussion. The Detroit convention voted to maintain biennial conventions; Atlanta voted for conventions every 4 years. Detroit had some discussion on the labor party; Atlanta voted it down without discussion."

WAR AGAINST THE LEFT

As an indispensable part of its program of throwing the working class demoralized into the war and rationalization program of American imperialism, the A. F. of L. attacks viciously the Communists who seek to mobilize the workers against imperialism. In the conventions held prior to the A. F. of L., notably the Carpenters and Machinists, wild assaults were made against the left, and Communist delegations were expelled without formality. The A. F. of L. convention acted in the same violent spirit. It declared that "there can be no compromise with the Communists, with their followers and adherents." These are to be expelled ruthlessly from all affiliated organizations.

Not a word of criticism was directed against the Socialists (or the moribund I. W. W.) in the convention debates or the report of the Executive Council. The whole fire was reserved for the Communists. This is a high compliment for our movement when it is so singled out for enmity and attack by these agents of the employers.

The reason for failure to attack the Socialists was again exempli-

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fied at the convention. These betrayers of the workers have gone over bag and baggage to the Woll-Green machine. At thhe convention they came forward with no industrial or political opposition program. They made no fight against the A. F. of L. leadership. They supported the whole jingoistic, pacifistic, reactionary work of the convention. Only in such minor matters as the condemnation of the Brookwood School did they timidly demur. And the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party, meeting at the time, made no criticism of the ultra-reactionary convention, but merely called upon its followers "to establish friendly relations with organized labor." The depth of the degeneration of the Socialist Party was exposed again by the reactionary course of its trade union delegation at the New Orleans convention.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE A. F. OF L.

What is the future of the American Federation of Labor and the old craft unions generally Are they definitely in decline as labor organizations? Does the developing war situation offer them a new lease of life and expansion, under the stimulus of the employers?

This question of the perspective of the A. F. of L. becomes very important because in it is involved the question of whether or not there is a real base for the development of the new industrial union movement. A clarification of it is especially necessary now in view of the development of incipient theories, notably in the writings and speeches of Comrades Pepper, Lovestone, and Weinstone, which foresee a regrowth of the old unions. Thus, at the 6th World Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Pepper declared: "The world hegemony of American imperialism serves as a basis for the further growth of American reformism and creates the possibilities for the further growth of the American Federation of Labor."

These theories see in the labor bureaucracy the one instrument of the employers in the industries for spreading reformist illusions among the workers. Thus the necessity for the employers to preserve and extend the old union movement. This is especially indispensible for them, or so the implication goes, in view of their necessity for demoralizing the workers in the face of the developing war program of American imperialism. With the extension of the old unions the new unions would have no real base. The implication is that we must begin to re-orientate ourselves again on the old unions. Among th efirst signs of this implied re-orientation are the neglect of building the new unions and the fabrication of fabulous difficulties in the way of their organization.

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Now let us see what is the present attitude of big capital towards the old unions and whether or not this is likely to change in the developing war situation, and if so, in what direction.

The present basic trend of trustified capital is against the establishment of even company-unionized trade unions in the industries. It has driven trade unionism from one industry after another until the old unions are confined pretty much too the lighter, competitive industries. Open shop, trustified American capital, basing its mass production program upon the control of its workers by its own industrial engineers and depending primarily upon its own apparatus (welfare schemes, profit-sharing, stock-buying, etc., etc.) to spread reformist illusions among the workers, rejects the proposals of the A. F. of L. leaders to organize the workers into company-unionized trade unions and to exploit them through "union-management co-operation," with its anti-working class harmony of interests ideology. The big capitalists use the A. F. of L. leaders as tools to demoralize the workers in the face of the growing war danger. This they will continue to do. But they refuse to organize their workers, even the skilled, into the emasculated trade unions. The employers tend to rely more upon their own elaborate mechanism for sowing illusions among the workers directly in the industries, their efficiency engineers, personnel managers, and the many schemes and organizations for this special purpose. They are gradually breaking down the old trade union movement. They refuse to accept and recognize it, notwithstanding its intensified class collaboration and jingoistic war program.

The weakness of the theory of Comrades Pepper, Lovestone and Weinstone (the rebuilding of the A. F. of L.) is that they fail to see that the main reliance of the employers for propagating reformist illusions among the workers is not so much the A. F. of L. and the S. P., as their own engineer-economist-company union apparatus; that in this period, although the A. F. of L. and the S. P. are in decline the propagation of reformist illusions is on the increase.

Will the capitalists, with a growing war situation and an actual or threatened expansion of the new unions, change their anti-union policy and depend for the propagation of reformist illusions among the workers upon a spread of the old unions in basic industry? This is very unlikely. On the contrary, in an immediate war situation the employers, in order to demoralize and break the workers' ranks, would not develop the traditional trade unionism, but new forms of company unionism. Into this company unionism the labor bureaucracy would be organically absorbed largely or wholly. Instead of rebuilding the A. F. of L. into a system of labor unionism in the

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basic industries, the capitalists will use it exactly as an instrument to prevent the unionizing of their workers.

This war-time type of unionism would be not so much company-unionized trade unions as company unionism covered with a thin veneer of trade union traditions, terminology, etc. It would be largely fascist, the labor bureaucrats, often the nominal heads of it, looking upon themselves as direct agents of the employers and warring violently, with open police cooperation, against the left wing which will lead real mass movements against the employers and the State. Such company unionism would be so hostile to the workers that our policy would doubtless be to smash it by pressure of the new unions from without and by attacks from within.

In the present situation the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is a deadly enemy to the workers and it must be fought ruthlessly. In an approaching war situation it would become even more dangerous as an instrument of capitalist reformism and war. But while fighting it without let up, we must also not lose sight of the other instruments and movements used by the capitalists (company unions, welfare schemes, etc.) to demoralize the workers.

During the last war the capitalists, although incorporating the trade union bureaucracy into the war machine, nevertheless made much resistance to the introduction of the trade unions into the industries, with the notable exceptions of the railroads and the munitions plants. They by no means abandoned their traditional open shop policy. They built the company union movement, with its maze of welfare schemes, eac., as a barrier against trade unionism. The bureaucracy made a mild show of resisting this company unionism and of insisting upon the recognition of the trade unions. But with a war situation developing now they would surrender outright to the ensuing system of company unionism. American imperialism is now vastly stronger than in the last war, the trade unions are weaker, and the leaders more corrupt and degenerated. The bureaucrats would become openly agents of the employers.

The stage is now being set for such a betrayal. Ideologically, the trade union bureaucrats have surrendered completely to the capitalists. They are for the war program whole heartedly, with its rationalization of industry and permanent prosperity illusions. They are steadily degenerating the trade unions in the direction of company unionism. An immediate war situation would be the signal for them to complete their treachery and to reduce the trade union movement practically to an organic part of the employers' system of company unionism.

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THE TASKS BEFORE US

From the foregoing it is evident that our basic task is the building of new industrial unions in the unorganized and semi-organized industries. These must be based primarily upon the semi-skilled and unskilled, the most exploited sections of the workers. Special attention, in all this work of organizing the unorganized, must be given to drawing in the increasing masses of Negro industrial workerrs. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is a deadly enemy to all this.

The A. F. of L. is definitely in decline as a labor organization. It cannot and will not organize the unorganized. Its reactionary leadership refuses to build up the organization with the necessary policy of struggle. And it is an illusion to believe that the employers will build it up in an immediate war situation—they will construct instead a company unionism which will swallow the old unionism. The new unions are vitally necessary now to organize the present growing struuggles of the masses, which the reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom refuses to lead, and they will be all the more necessary in a war situation as the unions of the workers to mobilize the masses for struggle against the employers' system of company unionism headed wholly or in part by the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The present diletantism in the building of the new unions must be ruthlessly eradicated and a militant policy of organization initiated.

Although the organization of the unorganized into the new unions is our major task it would nevertheless be a serious mistake to abandon the work in the old unions. There are decided tendencies to do this at present. For example, and this situation is typical, we had not a single left wing delegate in the recent conventions of the Illinois Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. This tendency to abandon the old unions to the reactionaries must be corrected. It would be a grave mistake to judge the rank and file of the old unions by the reactionary, unrepresentative conventions. Deep currents of discontent run in the old unions. For want of leadership this expresses itself mostly by pessimism and lowered morale. Even the reactionary Tobin at the A. F. of L. convention had to give warning of this situation. The discontent of the masses in the old unions, especially those of the lesser skilled, will become keener under the inevitable attacks of the employers. It is a vital task of ours to organize these discontented masses and to lead them in struggle against the reactionary union leaders of the imperialists, the employers and the whole war program.

Events are proving the correctness of the Comintern and Profintern line for the building of new unions in the United States,

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without neglecting the work in the old unions. It is our task to bring the needed new unions into existence. It is along this general line that the Workers (Communist) Party can and will place itself at the head of the masses struggling against American imperialism.

To build the new unions and to organize the left wing in the old unions the Trade Union Educational League must be greatly strengthened. The T.U.E.L. must function openly as the organizer of the unorganized. It must coordinate the work of the new unions, among themselves and with the organized left wing in the old unions. It must come forward with a militant propaganda to acquaint American workers with the R. I. L. U. and to build up a strong R. I. L. U. center in this country. It has been a serious mistake not to have given the T. U. E. L. real support and not to have brought it more prominently to the fore in the struggles of the workers.

All our trade union work among the masses, in the shops, in the new unions, and in the old unions, must be based upon the general struggle against the war danger. We must expose the militaristic, pacifistic program of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. We must fight against capitalist rationalization, with its wage cuts, speed up, and whole system of prosperity illusions. We must unite closely with the workers of Latin America for struggle against American imperialism and its tool, the Pan-American Federation of Labor. We must join hands with the workers of the world, under the leadership of the Communist International, for the defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution, and for revolutionary struggle against the impending world clash of the imperialists.

THE RED INSPECTOR—*Drawn by Wm. Siegel*

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Some Issues in the Party Discussion

By JAY LOVESTONE

(From December 15th to 19th, 1928 the Central Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America held a most interesting and important plenary session. Comrade Lovestone reported for the Political Committee of the Party on the Present Situation and the Tasks of the Party. During the discussion a number of basic problems were dealt with at length. THE COMMUNIST *herewith presents its readers with excerpts from the summary remarks of Comrade Lovestone in closing the discussion and replying to the critics of the Central Committee's policies. For lack of space we are omitting entire sections dealing with the trade union question, the labor party, the inner party situation, the status of the party organization, and the perspective for the class war in the United States.*—EDITOR.)

The following four charges have been made by the Foster-Bittleman Opposition against the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party: *First*, the C.E.C. has a wrong estimate of the general trend of American imperialism and consequently a wrong estimate of the international situation. *Secondly*, the C.E.C. does not properly estimate the immediate economic situation. This wrong estimate is shamefully illustrated by its bankruptcy on the agricultural question. *Thirdly*, the extent and significance of the industrialization of the South is exaggerated in an unwarranted fashion by the C.E.C. of the Party. *Fourthly*, the C.E.C. is wrong on the question of radicalization and has no perspective for struggle. Except for these four differences, the Opposition agrees with the C.E.C. The other differences are small; we might make concessions to each other. On the basis of such differences the C.E.C. is a right wing, says the Opposition.

Let us examine these differences, one at a time, to see where the Opposition stands, if it stands at all, and where the C.E.C. stands and what its position means.

OPPOSITION REPEATS ITS SIXTH CONGRESS ATTACKS

First of all, the comrades are entitled to know that the attack on the C.E.C. thesis made by the Opposition in this plenum is precisely along the line of the attack made by the Opposition in company with Comrade Lomanadze at the Sixth World Congress. I will read to you, in a moment, a list of the reservations the Opposition in our Party made to the thesis presented by Comrade Bucharin in behalf of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. You will say you

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heard that here only a few days ago. I think it is time to stop the flow of reservations, but apparently it can't be done.

Comrade Bittelman, the theoretical, political and organizational leader of the Opposition is laying down the theoretical basis for his simultaneous acceptance of and disagreement with Comintern policies. It requires a first rate theoretician, of a certain caliber, to be able to do that. In "accepting" Bucharin's thesis the following reservations were made by our Opposition:

1. That there be an elaboration of some sections.

2. Emphasis on other sections. But you know what a little emphasis here and there does. Sometimes, unfortunately, one side becomes lopsided. The thesis of the C.I. is not lopsided because it is a Communist thesis. Precisely for this reason *their* proposals for emphasis were rejected.

3. The rate of decline in growth in the United States is already clear. The whole thesis of the Comintern is based on the increasingly aggressive role of American imperialism growing out of its rising strength and not out of its declining power.

4. The Opposition demanded a *new emphasis* on America. There was a certain emphasis on America and that emphasis remained in the C.I. thesis. But the Opposition said: "No, that is an old analysis." What is the old emphasis of the C.I.? A correct one, one which says that America's aggressive imperialist role today, unlike that of the present aggressive role of Great Britain, grows out of its rising strength and not out of any present tendency to decline.

5. According to our Opposition the thesis of Comrade Bucharin failed to show clearly the interdependence of the class struggle within the imperialist countries and the contradictions between capitalist countries. Comrades, don't be mistaken. This is not a little "leftist" deviation. This criticism remains opportunism on firm ground.

6. That the Comintern should work out more concrete perspectives for America. Here is the contribution of Comrade Foster's agreement with the thesis.

7. They "accept" the thesis but want a *new* word on America. They have a right to demand a new word. Every section of the Comintern has a right to demand, to correct, but once it listens to the correction of the C.I. it must accept this correction. The time has arrived to stop reserving for yourself the right to be wrong. This means, if persisted in, opposition to the line of the Comintern.

THE RELATION BETWEEN INNER AND OUTER CONTRADICTIONS

We will examine your criticism. For our Opposition the question of inner and outer contradictions is a mechanical one not only on an American scale but also on a world scale. Let us see how correct your thesis is. The Opposition is in this condition:—In one pocket the Opposition has the internal contradictions. In an-

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other still smaller pocket the Opposition has the external contradictions. What is the basis of this pocket theory of internal and external contradictions; of this theory of separating the internal from the external contradictions? The theory is to be found as perhaps Comrade Lerner, who is himself a living contradiction—I do not know whether internal or external (interruption Bittelman—interdependent) both, internal and external contradictions, I accept it)—and arises from the fact that the Opposition bases its policy on the supposition that American imperialism has reached its apex. Of course, after it has reached its apex, American imperialism must begin to go down and to go down primarily because of the inner contradictions. Under such circumstances, the outer contradictions are secondary.

What did Comrade Bucharin say about this? I still quote Comrade Bucharin. For me he does not represent the right wing of the Communist International; altho for some he does. For me Comrade Bukharin represents the Communist line, the line of the C.E.C. of the C.P.S.U. Therefore Comrade Bucharin is an authority—of the C.I. Let us see what Comrade Bucharin says about this:

> "In my opinion, attempts to transfer the center of gravity from the question of the war danger to that of the internal contradictions or to some other, imply a failure to understand the seriousness of the situation This question is closely connected with the underestimation of the intervention which has already commenced in China. I think also that it is connected with what I referred to in my speech: the inadequate internationalism of our Communist Parties."

Very clear English. You might call us right wingers but you will get tired of that just as you have become tired of other wrong charges you have made in the past. The Party is much better off for it. On the basis of your analysis, you are bound to underestimate the war danger. Comrade Bucharin goes on to say:

> "The question of internal contradictions and the connection these have with the external contradictions is a very complicated one . . . Rejecting as I do the eclectic point of view of the comrades who isolate internal from external contradictions, I must deal with the *mutual relations* of these contradictions." (Our emphasis).

Any other method would be a method of eclectics. An eclectic method is not a Leninist method, but comrades must keep in mind in discussing the "analysis" of the Opposition that eclectics and gymnastics go hand in hand.

> "What are the mutual relations between these two categories of facts, where is the function point, which is to serve as the starting point for the conclusions we must draw? In my opinion, *world economic contradictions, the great world conflicts are of first class importance in this respect.* Take England for example. Are the

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> internal contradictions becoming more acute there? Of course they are. The growth of these contradictions in Great Britain are connected with the process of the decline of the British Empire. But has not the process of decline of the British Empire its roots, in the majority of cases, in the international situation? Is it not due to the competition of the United States, to the centrifugal tendencies of the British Dominions and partly also of the colonies, and a number of other international factors? Picture to yourself a different international milieu for British capitalism, and the results will be altogether different." (Our emphasis).

Mind you, that is true even for England where productive processes are going down, where capitalism has passed its "apex" a little while ago and not "about to reach" it. Why don't you say this about the United States? Why don't you draw certain conclusions from this? What is the matter with the British steel market? Is the English coal less black and less dirty than American coal? What is the matter with the British rubber monopoly? Why these difficulties? Why is the Bank of England, which has more gold today than it had years ago, a vassal, in certain respects, of the American Federal Reserve? Comrade Bucharin is such a good "right winger" in the opinion of our self-styled "left" Opposition that I want to continue to read:

> "Why was the Trade Union Act passed in Great Britain? Is it possible for us to understand this "internal" Act if we ignore external problems and completely lose sight of the preparations for war? If we ignore this point in this way we shall be incapable of carrying on any agitation whatever against this Act. Does not the the new orientation of Social Democracy towards the internal question of class truce intensify the treacherous role of Social Democracy in foreign politics? Is this not clear to every infant? Is there anyone so foolish as to deny the connection that exists between Paul Boncour's Military Law with the internal situation in France as well as with its foreign relationships? I could quote numerous examples of a similar character. But the examples I have already quoted are sufficient to convince us that all other problems are subordinate to the central problem of the war danger, to the problem of war. This applies to the problems of internal politics and to internal contradictions. Any other approach to the question of internal politics and to the tactical problems connected with them are unsound and certainly not revolutionary."

This criticism would be especially true for our Opposition because the center of its whole theme, of its entire analysis of American imperialism and the perspectives for the class struggle in the United States in its "apex theory" of American imperialism and its mass radicalization illusion growing out of the sharpened inner contradictions of American imperialism.

Comrade Bittelman's pocket system of contradictions is also applied by him to war *and* rationalization. *He fails to see that rationalization is an integral part of the whole process of the war prepara-*

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tion. To talk about war *and* rationalization is to fight them separately, divide them. For example take the A. F. of L. at its last convention. Is not the significance of this convention clear to every infant, if not to all adults?

What are the relations between inner and outer contradictions? It is clear that *they are mutually interdependent.* It is clear that *in the present world situation the primacy, the center of gravity lies in the world antagonism of capitalism.*

For instance, in the United States: why the attacks on the workers? They are part of the war preparations, of preparing to put the screws tighter on the American workers because we are heading towards a cataclysm. Why war? Perhaps because the country is so decrepit? The working class may be decrepit in certain respects but not yet the American bourgeoisie.

PRESENT WORLD POSITION OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Why are the American imperialists driving so hard for markets? Here we have the question of the United States plant capacity; an internal contradiction bound up organically with the outer contradictions—with the whole world situation.

If the Opposition will agree that the war danger is the central point before us, then it must admit that the whole approach to the question of tactics in any country must be tied up *first of all* with the question of outer antagonisms which are organically bound up with inner antagonisms. Now, what does the C.I. thesis say? The Comintern's estimate of the international situation is woven around one point. There is a red thread running thru the world congress thesis. That red threat is not "the decline of the reserve powers of American imperialism," as our Opposition says. I wish the objective conditions were already such that the thesis of the C.I. also said this. Then, we would be in a different situation today. We would not be having this discussion today, if the decline of American imperialism's reserve power had already begun. The whole, *the central point in the international situation is woven around the fact of the aggressive role of American imperialism growing out of its still ascending strength.*

We all say, the Opposition with us and we with the Opposition, that the center of gravity of capitalist world economy has shifted from Europe to America. What is the meaning of this? Is it just a sentence, merely to make your thesis 90 pages? No! The Opposition does not do it for that reason. They put it in because they accept it. But I am afraid that they do not understand it. If the center of gravity of world capitalism has moved to America, this event has some content for America. The content it has for us is that *American imperialism is the aggressor today, precisely because of this transfer of economic hegemony, precisely because of this in-*

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crease of strength. But the Opposition says the following: "American imperialism is aggressive." We have no difference on that. "American imperialist aggression is increasing." No differences yet. Then, where do we differ? The Opposition says that the aggressive role of American imperialism is based on the fact that United States capitalism has already reached or is about to reach its apex and that this aggression is based on the already declining reserve powers of American imperialism. We say that *the aggressive role of American imperialism is based on its present strength and precisely on its tremendous, still unexhausted reserve powers.*

The increase in strength in certain respects, the expansion of European capitalism thru rationalization (and we must recognize that there is a partial stabilization of capitalism in Europe)—how did this come about? Primarily thru American capitalism. What does this mean? Does it mean that because international capitalism succeeded since the World War, in strengthening certain of its positions that the world revolution is further away than it was before the World War? *Nonsense. It is just this strengthening of certain positions of international capitalism itself that is a generator of contradictions and antagonisms making for the overtrhow of capitalism.*

The Opposition took exception to this analysis of the role of American imperialism as laid down by the Comintern Sixth Congress. *Comrade Johnstone's declaration of reservations is still the Bible of the Opposition. The position taken by the Opposition is a right wing position.* I will prove to you that it is.

The Opposition's theory is based on the notion that it is possible for a Communist Party to engage in mass struggles, to lead mass struggles, *only* when the imperialism of the country where the particular Communist Party exists goes down or is about to go down. Why do they say this? They charge that we find no basis for struggles, no perspectives for conflict of the classes here, because we maintain that American imperialism is still going up. Such an "analysis" is not Leninism. *There are opportunities for Communist Parties leading to mass struggles not only when imperialism declines but also when it goes up because the very upward trend generates certain contradictions, certain antagonisms. These contradictions and antagonisms afford us splendid opportunities for class struggle.*

FROM FALLACY TO FALLACY—THE ROAD OF THE OPPOSITION

Let us discuss bourgeoisification a moment. It is no contradiction that the Opposition in an article by Comrade Foster in the July, 1926, issue of the *Workers Monthly*, developed the theory that American imperialism is so powerful that it bourgeoisifies *materially* not only the upper stratum but also large sections of the working class—the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled. There is no

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contradiction between maintaining this position of material bourgeoisification of the working class as a whole when imperialism goes up (in your heads) and maintaining the position of radicalization when it goes down (in your thesis). I will show you why.

In 1927 our Opposition saw American imperialism so rapidly and so terrifically ascending that they concluded that the working class as a class was materially bourgeoisified. This blinded our Opposition into the further deduction that an ascending capitalism—in this instance in the United States—cannot have contradictions and antagonisms within itself. What is the meaning of this "reasoning"? The Opposition has learned something since. It now sees antagonisms and contradictions within American imperialism, but it still adheres to its false premise that an ascending capitalism is incompatible with and cannot have contradictions and antagonisms within its system. Therefore since they see some contradictions and antagonisms within American imperialism today, they are led from their false premise to the erroneous conclusion that American imperialism is already really going down.

That is how it comes about that the father, (theory of bourgeoisification) has given birth to the son (theory of nation-wide radicalization). It is not an illegitimate child. It is the *only* child that such false theories could give birth to. The theory of the material bourgeoisification of the American working class as a class in 1927 logically gave birth to the theory of deep-going, nation-wide radicalization in the bulk of the working class in the United States in 1928. The Opposition's wrong theories of 1927 have blossomed out into their wrong theories of 1928. In 1927 the Opposition's wrong theories were swinging naturally rightward. Today these erroneous conceptions of the Opposition are swinging artificially leftward. Lopsided to the Right yesterday, lopsided to the "left" today—lopsided all the time.

That is why the Opposition is bound to come to the very dangerous conclusion: that only when an imperialism declines, does it afford possibilities and opportunities for sharp class struggles and the development of mass Communist parties. This error is deeply imbedded in their erroneous conception of the relations between inner and outer contradictions. The Opposition can see only either outer or inner contradictions at a time. *They cannot see the interdependence of outer and inner contradictions at the same ime.* The Opposition can see at a particular time only either the forces making for an ascending imperialism or the forces making for a declining imperialism. They cannot see forces and counter-forces, trends and counter-trends simultaneously. The Opposition's method is not a method of dialectics. Certainly not Marxian dialectics.

The Opposition must try to learn that *the very strength of Ameri-*

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can imperialism brings about contradictions and hence opporunities for Communist mass work. The outer contradictions are quite inside American imperialism. Whoever develops the theory that even British imperialism is already gone, will have to learn something. Here I must refer the comrades of the Opposition once more to that "horrible right wing document" known as the Thesis on the International Situation adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. And we are now speaking of the United States, not Great Britain. The Opposition accuses us of being right wingers because we speak of the prosperity of the United States. The Opposition tells us: "Don't you dare speak of prosperity in the United States, because you will get a letter from the Comintern, or a thesis from us, calling you right wingers." What does the Comintern thesis say about this question. Let me quote:

> "The general and economic basis of this fact is the slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism in the course of which one of its principal component parts is on the upgrade, while others are entering a process of relatively slow decline. This includes the growing consilidation of the position of the United States as the world exploiter, creditor, and usurer. (The "prosperity" of the United States . . .)"

Mind you, the Comintern dares speak of the relatively slow decline of British imperialism! And the Opposition would have one believe that American imperialism has already passed its apex. How does the Comintern dare speak of the "prosperity" of the United States?

Now is this position of our Opposition Leftism? Yes, a peculiar kind of Leftism. But *it is inverted Leftism.* The Opposition charges us with being optimistic and praises itself for being pessimistic about American imperialism. *It is plain stupidity to discuss the international situation in terms of optimsm or pessimism.* In reality it is not American imperialism that is declining before the Opposition but I fear, and with too great justification, that the *Opposition's policies if ever adopted, would lead the Party to a decline before capitalism.*

SOME CANADIAN QUESTIONS

Now let us go to Canada for a moment. I think Comrade Buck allowed himself to be enmeshed in a net-work of Opposition "theories."

Comrade Buck has a sort of a three wheel theory about Canadian imperialism. He sees Canadian imperialism within American imperialism within British imperialism. This "theory" reminds me of the Russian wooden doll system—a series of dolls within dolls. It also reminds me of the fact that the leader of the Canadian Communist Party, unfortunately, used to be an ex-comrade by the

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name of Spector. When I heard Comrade Buck speak, I saw the ghost of Spector hovering over the Canadian Party. I do not for a moment want to deprecate nor disparage the criticism given us by Comrade Buck, but I think Comrade Buck, in the same spirit, should take some of the criticism we will now give him. It will be quite sharp.

Is Canada moving toward British imperialism? There is no need of burdening the comrades with facts and figures on this question. It is wrong to say that Canada is moving toward British imperialism. But where is Canada going? *Comrade Buck says that Canada is developing its own imperialism.* He tells us that Canada is going to have a couple of battle-ships built for itself! (Interruption: Buck: I said that the Canadian bourgeoisie are developing their own imperialist ambitions). Yes, Comrade Buck, that means that Canada is developing, must be moving somewhere. It is a dynamic process. According to you and your "theories" which you contracted in the camp of our Opposition, Canada is going in the direction of decolonization. How? By a revolutionary struggle against imperialism? No, not on the basis of your "theories"; but on the basis of your false conclusion that Canada is developing its own imperialism, one has to say that Canada is being decolonized through the growth of its own counter-revolutionary, its own imperialist forces. This is the very antithesis of Leninism. *The only way a colony can be decolonized, can stop being a colony, is thru the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class in the colony and the imperialist forces oppressing the colony.* That "theory" of yours, Comrade Buck, is our "old friend decolonization" condemned by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern as a right wing deviation.

Is Canada moving in the orbit of the United States? If the Opposition will permit me, I will read from a document which according to their thesis is a right wing document. I am now reading from the Thesis on the International Situation proposed by Comrade Bucharin and adopted by the World Congress of the Comintern:

> "Canada and even Australia are more and more gravitating toward so-called 'economic cooperation' in which the hegemony of the United States is assured beforehand."

Canada is moving and its battle-ships are moving, but it is moving *in the bloody orbit of the bloody dollar.* For us, it is axiomatic, of course, that your job is to fight your own imperialism first. To the extent that Canada has its own imperialism, or is beginning to develop its own imperialism, to that extent it is not necessary for the Canadian working class under the leadership of the Canadian Communist Party to fight British imperialism or American imperialism.

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Do you think that it is a *left* position to tell us that British and American imperialism are being kicked out by the growing Canadian imperialism? This is not a left position. *This is a Right position,* a damned Right and therefore a damned wrong position at the same time. This decolonization theory also traces its fatherhood to Spector. Its contents spell the giving up of the fight against American and British imperialism. We have no fears. We know the Canadian Communist Party will never adopt such a position.

THE IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The Opposition persists in confusing the immediate economic situation with the basic trend of American capitalism. Our Opposition must learn to understand not to confuse. It says that in the middle of 1928 prosperity began to increase again in the United States. This is progress for the Opposition. We were all at the World Congress of the Comintern at that time. We said it then. For this the Opposition called us Right wingers. But *why doesn't the Opposition tell us why prosperity went up in the middle of* 1928? All right; assume for the moment that it did go up again. What was the trouble? Was this merely a high fever in summer time? Why don't you tell the Central Committee, the Party as a whole, how it came about that there was a temporary spurt in prosperity? The answer is clear. Because you don't know why. You don't know the facts and you don't understand the phenomenon.

The comrades in Opposition charge that I am misinterpreting their position. Let me therefore read from a very well advertised "Left" document, the theses of the Opposition. Bear with me comrades if I read quite at length from this document:

> "The curve of industrial development which in the middle of 1928 took a turn upward is again beginning to show downward trends. The persistence of the present industrial depression, aggravated by the critical situation in such basic sections of economy as coal, textile, shipping, oil and agriculture, points to the maturing of econmic crisis with the consequent misery and suffering for the toiling masses.
>
> "Only a few industries have shown increasing production in recent months. These are automobiles, steel, farming machinery and electric power and equipment. This fact and the further industrialization of the South (coal, iron, textiles) explain the slight upward turn in the last several months.
>
> "This, however, produced no notable improvement in the general depression.
>
> "From a record output of 91.3% of capacity in October, steel production has fallen to 79% in the third week of November. The average for November is estimated at about 82%, while the output for December is for a rate of about 80%. The automobile industry, which was the main buyer of steel in recent months, is itself slowing

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down production. The October output of automobiles shows a decline of nearly 4% from the output in September. Building permits and operations are on the decrease. The same is even more true of the industry producing agricultural machinery."

"We are going towards a maturing economic crisis" says the Opposition. WHEN? That is the question. Of course we are. But *how soon will it be here?* And *why haven't we arrived there already?* How is it that the Opposition doesn't answer these questions? What sort of reasoning is this? What method is this? How can we judge an economic situation on the basis of "tendencies" for a period of three weeks? Again this is gymnastics. This is a classic example of how a Communist should not analyze an economic situation.

We must examine some dry and dreary statistics. These facts and figures happen to be painful ones. First of all, how are we to judge the economic situation? We should not examine it on the basis of a three-week period, or even a month. We must examine trends over a longer period of time. We must judge the situation relatively. It is not enough to say that one month was lower in comparison with the preceding month. Maybe September was such an extraordinarily high month that October, which was 4% below September, was in itself also an extraordinarily high month. Certainly such methods as the Opposition uses cannot illustrate tendencies for us. Let us delve into the facts for a few moments.

November, 1928, on the basis of the amount of electrical energy consumed was 2.2% greater than October and 17.2% than November, 1927. This is certainly a "downward" swing! Perhaps it is to the "Left!" Consumption of electricity by rolling mills and steel plants shows that in November, the rate of operations was nearly 3% higher than in the previous month and about 37% above the level recorded in November, 1927. Feerous and non-Ferrous metal plants increased their rate of operations to the highest point on record—47.3% above last November. Certainly this is not a light industry; nor is it a small industry. It is a terrible time indeed that the American bourgeoisie are having today!

Even the hard-pressed textile industry shows a rate of operation, as measured by consumption of electrical energy, nearly 10% higher than October and 11% more than November, 1927. In Comrade Bittelman's declining automobile industry, we find a seasonal drop in November. But it is the depth of shallowness to come to a conclusion that the automobile industry is therefore going down. The fact of the matter is that November, 1928 rate of production is fully 26% higher than that of November, 1927. Comrades must learn to understand that there are also seasonal factors. In comparison with a year ago, substantial gains were also to be noted in

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chemicals and allied products—rubber and its manufactures, stone, glass, clay, etc. These are facts.

A few other "little things" regarding the economic situation. As compared with 1927, chain stores in 1928 showed a gain in sales of over 19%. Even workers do a little buying in chain stores! Then there is the "small matter" of export trade. American export trade has reached the highest level in five years during 1928. Business failures last month were fewer than in October and less than a year ago. The total liabilities for the year are less than last year. Over 200 companies show a gain of 21% in their profits for the first nine months of the year. American imperialism is apparently going down so rapidly and the economic situation is so black for the bourgeoisie, that our Opposition can't catch up with the decline!

A few words on the steel situation. Steel did go down within the three-week period mentioned by the Opposition. But what is the perspective? We must judge it relatively—last year, this year, the outlook for next year. There is a usual slackening which marks the year-end, December, production figures. This year's total production will be approximately 50 million tons of steel ingots. This is a 14% gain over 1927, a 7% gain over 1926, the previous record year, 15% over 1923, the best post-war year until 1925, and a 65% gain over 1912 and 1913, the two best pre-war years. The recent seasonal decrease, on the basis of present factors, does not indicate an impairment of the tonnage figures for the first six months of 1929. The November decline from October should not be viewed superficially because October production was swelled somewhat by special conditions. The comrades should stop playing with figures. They are dangerous weapons to play with. Three or four million tons of steel are no small amount to play with, even though you set yourself aside only a period of three weeks.

A few words about the agricultural situation. In relation to industry, it is still in bad condition. *The bourgeoisie cannot meet this crisis.* But let us judge the situation within agriculture itself relatively, in comparison with previous periods in which there was distress. No one can deny that though *the basic agricultural situation remains bad,* there are fewer distressed areas in agriculture this year than in any year since 1920. The situation is less uneven than in many years.

A few words about wages. There have been wage-cuts. There will be more wage-cuts. Wage-cuts are being made today. But no matter how much you will yell right wing, the fact of the matter is that the general wage level last year has increased. This fall the wages of industrial workers have reached the highest level since 1920, according to the investigation of the National Industrial Conference

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Board, based on the reports of 1500 manufacturers, employing over 800,000 workers. The figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate the same condition. Consult the November Monthly of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Do I deny that there were wage-cuts in textiles? Do I deny that there are wage cuts and more coming in mining? But in steel, railroads and in other industries, there have been some increases. Examine the figures, on pages 10 to 17 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Review for November. Maybe these facts are wrong but don't make unfounded charges. Produce other facts if you have them.

Why doesn't the Opposition speak of general trends? Let not the Opposition tell us that we say there is prosperity for the working class as a whole in the United States. Read our thesis. *We say nothing of the kind.* But we certainly don't say, as the Opposition ridiculously does, that prosperity declined 4% within the last three weeks. So authoritative a source as Moody's has declared in its report for November 30, 1928, as follows:

> "1. That American corporation earnings as a whole are increasing much more rapidly than before the war and promise this year to show a gain of about 13% over 1927 or 6% over 1926 when the previous high record was made.
>
> "2. That American wealth is increasing at the rate of about 5% means a gain of approximately twenty billion dollars each year.
>
> "3. That the net savings of the American people available for new securities and making permanent investments are now about ten and a half billion dollars per annum as compared with approximately three billion dollars before the war.
>
> "4. That the general establishment of the gold standard in foreign countries practically insures the soundness of our vast foreign investments amounting to more than fifteen billion dollars."

Of course, Moody speaks for the most powerful of the American bourgeoisie. Perhaps this is what the Opposition meant when it spoke of the upward trend which began last July and has not yet been frozen out completely! *The Central Committee maintains that an economic crisis is coming. It has been delayed.* We have given you the reasons for the delay. We maintain that last Summer we did not have enough facts at hand to state, as the Opposition did, that the crisis impending was as deep-going as or even worse than, the 1921 crisis. The Opposition said then that American imperialism can never again have such a period of productive capacity as it did in 1926. Despite the theses of the Opposition, American imperialism this year exceeded in many respects the record year of 1926.

Before closing this question I want to say a few words about the "city dollar" invented by Comrade Foster. To speak of a "city dol-

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lar" as Comrade Foster did, in comparing the "city dollar" with the "rural dollar" is utterly ridiculous. I admit I am bankrupt on this question. I don't know what Comrade Foster meant. "What is this "city dollar?" I know that in the city there is a dollar for the workers and a dollar for the trusts. In the country there is a dollar for the exploited farming masses and a dollar for the monopolists. We are speaking of standards of living and of purchasing power of the masses. And when we speak of masses we do not speak of them as city masses or country masses, but as exploited farming masses and exploited industrial workers in class conflict with their exploiters.

The Central Committee maintains that *the economic crisis in the United States which has been long due has been delayed. We give three reasons for this*: 1) *The industrialization of the South;* 2) *The intensification of the exploitation of Latin America;* 3) *Increased foreign trade, particularly with Europe and Asia.* These three reasons may be wrong, but let the Opposition come forward with its own reasons. Why doesn't the Opposition give them to us? It is because they haven't any. They don't know any and can't understand the economic situation.

We don't want to speak about "sick" industries. But for the workers as a mass, capitalist industry as a whole is sick. *There are sources of severe crisis in the United States today.* Look at the credit situation. American capitalism is literally choking with surplus capital. *We have here a storm signal of a serious crisis.* Shall we say, as the Opposition would have us conclude, that credit can be a source of crisis under capitalism only when there is an insufficient quantity of it? That is not our method. We accept the objective facts. We analyze these facts and their trends. Today there is the basis of an economic crisis in the very plethora of capital.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE SOUTH

A few words regarding the industrialization of the South. Our good Comrade Kjar whom I esteem very greatly, for he is a valuable Party comrade, charges that the Central Executive Committee (and in this particular instance, myself) has been hiding a discovery. We took this discovery out of our pockets, as it were, and flashed it on the Party on the eve of the Convention! This discovery deals with the industrialization of the South. Really I don't know who produced this "theory" for Comrade Kjar. The fact is that in the May, 1927 Plenum, the Central Executive Committee report pointed out the significance of the rapid industrialization of the South. In the February thesis, the question is dealt with quite at length, though not as elaborately and clearly as in the present thesis. The May resolution which Comrade Kjar's "theoretical" masters condemned as a right wing resolution and which Comrade Kjar perhaps

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did not read had a special section dealing with the significance of the industrialization of the South.

We are charged with exaggerating this phenomenon when we say there is a new Ruhr growing up in the South. Examine the latest books on the progress of industry in the South. They are building up there industries so gigantic and so highly developed as to put the efficiency of the Ruhr to shame. (Interruption by Grecht: Shame!) Yes, Comrade Grecht, there can be a lot of reasons for shame.

Now about the South. I am compelled to use as my source book the "Manufacturers Record," an organ of heavy industry in the South. Let no comrade say that these facts and figures are dirty capitalist statistics, dirty capitalist facts in the dirty capitalist South. I am very sorry that there are no other sources but these official reports and investigations. These are the only ones that the investigators for the Communist International can use. We do not yet have our own state apparatus or machinery of investigation. I quote:

> "In ten South-eastern states an expediture of two billion dollars is called for to carry out programs which have been planned for hydro and steam stations, for sub-stations and transmission lines and other facilities, within the next ten years. In Arkansas a Power Company has a program looking as far ahead as 1940, a program which will strive to keep up with the industrial growth of that state."

I hope we won't let them finish that program. But even the bourgeoisie merely having such a program is a fact of great significance. Mr. Schwab, one of the leading steel magnates, in speaking of the South, has thus declared:

> "If you people of the South, particularly in that section which is tributary to New Orleans, think you have witnessed industrial develapment in the last decade, you have in store even greater gratification in that line. *The South has just begun to bloom industrially.*
>
> "South American trade is just developing and the visit of Herbert Hoover will give it greater impetus and weld the peoples of the Americas together."

In this same issue of November 29, 1928, the "Manufacturers Record speaks of the

> "hum of the generator, throb of the internal combustion engine, and the pulsing power of steam."

as speeding the South's industrial advance. Of course, the "Manufacturers Record" in speaking of the South's industrial advance does not tell us of the degradation of the workers simultaneously as a result of this very advance under capitalism.

Remember that the South has 100,500 square miles of coal area or over five times as much as Europe, excluding the Soviet Union.

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Today Southern anti-union coal mines are producing 40 per cent of the country's coal. The South has five billion barrels of oil reserve and is producing 63 per cent of the country's output and 45 per cent of the world's petroleum supply.

It is not enough merely to say the South is being industrialized. This is paper talk. As Leninists, we must draw certain class struggle conclusions. What does it mean for class relations—for the working class, for the bourgeoisie, for the international position of the American bourgeoisie? The rapid industrialization of the South within the last two decades has built up a real reserve power of American imperialism. Does anybody say: "Look at the glorious South and its benefits insofar as the workers are concerned?" *That is sheer perversion and idiocy.* It is becoming a glorious place for the big bourgeoisie and precisely for this reason, *there is growing up in the South a new and dreadful capitalist tyranny. The South is the bulwark of the open shop. The South is the center of the most reactionary rule against the workers. In the South we have capitalist oppression of a kind which would make some towns in the steel industry appear like islands of freedom for the working class.* This condition generates the forces of resistance, the forces of militant antagonism to the new bourgeoisie on the part of the newly rising proletariat—overwhelmingly native—Negro and white.

Perhaps our Opposition will again say we are advertising American imperialism when we present these facts. Why cannot the Opposition sometimes learn to see trends and counter-trends simultaneously and not one set of tendencies at a time? Why doesn't the Opposition try to examine things dialetically, to notice the trend, to notice and understand antagonism and contradictions which a given situation can produce? Is this demanding too much? We hope not.

MORE ABOUT RADICALIZATION

Let us look into radicalization a bit. A few words about the Smith vote since Al Smith has taken up a lot of time from us. What is the test, the meaning of the Smith vote? Does the Smith vote serve as an index of the radicalization of the working masses? Did the Smith vote help to brush away the illusions burdening the minds of the masses and responsible for their voting for the Democratic Party? No. The very contrary is the truth. *The Smith vote is an expression of some of the most dangerous of these illusions among the masses.* Is the development and strengthening of more illusions among the workers an expression of the workers becoming radicalized? Is this what the tremendous Smith vote means? Are we nearer to a breaking away of great masses of the working class from the old parties? Certainly radicalization, if it is genuine at all, would indicate a

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tendency toward the breaking away from the old parties. Would Smith's getting a bigger vote be an index of still greater radicalization? This is the fruit of your logic.

The Smith vote is a most powerful factor holding the workers to the cursed two party system. You say the big Smith vote proves the radicalization of the masses. Perhaps (and you cannot avoid it), you will tell us next that there would have been a still greater radicalization force let loose in the country, if Smith were elected. Yes, a Smith administration, a Tammany administration in Washington would be proof to the Opposition of the tremendous radicalization of the bulk of the American working class! Let the Opposition put that on paper. The Communist International will smoke them out of it. Comrades, this is the logic of the Opposition's stand. Oh yes, but the Opposition will perhaps tell us that the real trouble is that Smith was not elected! Please tell that to us. You will not be glad to listen to our answer.

The Opposition compares the Smith vote with the La Follette vote. Smith may have worn different clothing than La Follette, he may even have been afflicted with more liberalism—a real master of hackneyed liberal phrases that would give La Follette a good run in many respects. But we are not interested in the empty phrases of capitalist politicians. *We are interested in the class relations these politicians symbolize and the classes these politicians speak for.* La Follette was a symbol of class forces making for the disintegration of the two party system. Smith is the symbol of a force *momentarily* strengthening the two party system.

Then, you compare the Smith vote with the Roosevelt vote in 1912. This is ridiculous. The fact of the matter is that the *Roosevelt movement*, not necessarily Roosevelt himself, *was an expression of forces making for the disintegration of the two party system. Smith's role is the very antithesis of this.*

What is the source of the Opposition's fallacies? For the Opposition everything leads to one conclusion and one premise—the Central Executive Committee is no good, all roads must lead to the destruction of the Central Executive Committee! The Opposition says the Smith vote is big; it shows radicalization. The Workers Party vote is small; it shows opportunism. "It is due to our opportuist program," is the cry of the Opposition. When will the Opposition tell us that Smith had a left program? Logically this is their next order of business. Why does the Opposition keep quiet about the significance of that fact that *of all parties participating in the election campaign, like ours which was a genuine working class party, and like the others, the S. P., and S. L. P., which actually are petty-bourgeois in character, but still pretend to cover themselves with a veneer of*

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working class phrases, the Workers (Communist) Party is the only one which increased its vote? The others lost heavily.

The radicalization of our Opposition is in tatters. It is not radicalization. *The policies leading to this conception of a radicalization would lead the Party to radical isolation.* The radicalization of the Smith vote is simply the Raskobization of the Democratic Party. Since when is a movement, at the head of which stands the president of the General Motors Company, a sworn enemy of the trade unions and mortal foe of the organization of the workers—a sign of a measure of radicalization of the working class? Such radicalization does not bring the revolution.

Yes, we have made many mistakes in the election campaign. Many serious errors, right errors, left errors stupid errors and errors of incompetency. But the Opposition should tell us why they do not look beneath the skin. Take the case of New Bedford. The Party got a smaller vote there than anyone expected. I am painfully disappointed with the Party's vote in New Bedford. Here is a situation where the Party led 25,000 workers in battle not only against the employers, not only against the labor fakers and their socialist partners, but against the government, against the military forces. Yet the Party got only 170 votes in New Bedford. The Socialist Party stabbed the workers in the back once or twice (Interruption: Every day in the week). All right, five times a day. But the Socialist Party got more votes than we did. And Smith who not only stabbled them, but did a lot of worse things to them, carried the city.

Why is it that we got only 170 votes in New Bedford? Primarily the political situation of the country as a whole and the social composition of the workers locally are responsible. I do not say this in order to blur the errors we made in New Bedford. The Party has made mistakes there, opportunist mistakes. Yet comrades should sometimes have a little faith in the Party. The Party did some very good work in New Bedford, though we got a small vote. The fact of the matter is that *the masses following us in New Bedford in the strike are exactly those masses who are mainly disfranchised. They are the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, foreign-born, who have no vote.* The upper stratum of the masses, the skilled, the Anglo-Saxons, the natives who have a vote supported either Smith or the Socialist Party. If you want any proof of the correctness of our deduction, please look at the fact that out of 662 leading fighters going to trial in New Bedford for strike activities, only four are citizens. And this in the ranks of the most active fellows in the front line of the fight. Such a factor we must take into consideration.

The Opposition says the Central Executive Committee has no

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estimate of radicalization. With its kind permission, we will read our estimate as given in our thesis:

> "The unquestionable, existing discontent which is growing in many sections of the working class and even some sections of the poorest farmers has not yet assumed sufficient class consciousness to break thru the framework of the two party system. The big election vote for the Democratic Party showed the existence of a large volume of discontent. This discontent has not yet assumed the character of a radicalization. In considering the attitude of the workers in the elections, attenion must be given to the fact that the parliamentary elections did not mirror the actual sentiment and moods of the most proletarian sections of the working class. Millions of foreign born and Negro workers and farmers are disfranchised and their anti-capitalist attitude did not appear in the vote at all. The terror of the employers forced many workers to vote against their own conviction, for the capitalist parties. Wholesale theft is also a factor of import in lowering the vote recorded for the Revolutionary party. Consequently the extent of the process of radicalization in the ranks of the proletarian masses could not find expression in the election vote. "*The stubborn economic struggles of the miners, textile and needle trades workers are a more adequate evidence of the amount of radicalization which tho not yet definitely crystallized, not yet national and general is nevertheless the most promising sign of the growing class consciousness of important sections of the working class.*"

Our Opposition calls this estimation pessimism. Let no one be startled by the remarkably brilliant statement by Comrade Bittelman that he has many formulas for radicalization. This is perfectly fine; particularly if you have correct formulas which supplement each other. Otherwise you are only helping radicalization in your own imagination. The many formulas of Comrade Bittelman for radicalization are not supplementary but contradictory.

And this great symbol of radicalization in the Connecticut district, Comrade Siskind, has brought us the message of the tremendous radicalization in his territory. No one can say that Comrade Siskind is a competent District Organizer, is not a bureaucrat. Nor will the Opposition say that he is a right winger. He himself admits he knows Leninist criticism. A remarkably rare combination of virtues! But why did we not get a tremendous vote for the Party in Connecticut? Let no one blame only Comrade Siskind. That would be factional. We did not get a tremendous vote for the Party in Connecticut, not so much because of Comrade Siskind, that helped some, not so much because the Party was in the way of a big vote, not so much because the Central Executive Committee gave instructions that there should be no big vote, but primarily because *the bulk of the working class in Connecticut is not yet radicalized.* Comrade Siskind and his caucus supporters to the contrary notwithstanding. In fact in Connecticut we got a smaller proportion of the working class votes than in any other district.

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We must try to think politically even though it is difficult, Comrade Siskind. The Comintern Congress has spoken of the partial stabilization of world capitalism. It has spoken even of the strengthening of certain positions of world capitalism, but Comrade Siskind calls this right wingism. That is why Comrade Siskind is against Comrade Bucharin's theses—the line of the Sixth World Congress. But what Comrade Siskind cannot see and finds it impossible to understand is that *this very partial stabilization and this very strengthening of certain positions of world capitalism themselves serve as a source of antagonism, of vital contradictions in the capitalist system of the United States*—creating numerous opportunities for our Party to lead great masses in sharp class struggles, and thus to develop into a powerful mass Communist Party. . . .

HOW TO FIGHT AND HOW NOT TO FIGHT THE RIGHT DANGER

The Right Danger cannot be fought properly by merely reciting errors, even if we recite in each instance all of our errors and then go over them ten times a day. You cannot fight the Right Danger by prayers. By saying Peecavi! Peecavi! I have sinned, oh Lord, I have sinned! The C. I. is no Lord and the Opposition does not consist of angels. The fact that we admit our errors is in itself no guarantee that we shall not repeat them, even if we repeat these admissions five times in each instance.

How shall we fight the Right Danger which is the main danger before our Party? We must view the country, the objective conditions historically, the conditions in which the Party finds itself, the social composition of the Party, the historical development of the Party, the history of its groups, the elements within the groups, the changing social composition of the groups, development in Party policy, the liquidation of the groups. Incidentally, I must emphasize that the Party groupings are no accidents. Right wings and left wings do not come from heaven. We begin with the premise (and this is for the Central Executive Committee axiomatic) *the main danger in the American Party is in the Right Danger.* But comrades, one of the crassest manifestations of the Right Danger is the insistence on the right to reservations to Communist International decisions. This is an expression of the Right Danger in our Party.

Secondly: pessimism. Belittling the achievements of the Party is another expression of the Right Danger. When I was somewhat pessimistic for a short time about building new unions, I was making a right error. Trotskyism is opportunism covered with left phrases. Opportunism covered with left phrases also has something to do with opportunism uncovered with left phrases. But when we examine the Right Danger, comrades of the Opposition, we will be a little more detailed on this matter.

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I would never say what I am going to say if the Opposition had not insisted that the Communist International is giving them a special right to have a wrong opinion in the American Party. Comrades, the Communist International was polite to you. The Communist International has very good reason and necessity to be polite to the comrades of the Opposition. But is it an accident that Askeli, Sulkanen & Company have been your bulwark in the ranks of the Finnish comrades against the Central Committee? How can you call the Central Committee the Right wing, when *the Right wing organs and organisms in nearly every fraction, in nearly every sub-division of the Party are your offspring and your guardian angels?* We welcome your criticism but not when it is slander.

What is Right and what is Left? I have only one test. And that test is the question of policy—the test of policies insofar as they make for the necessary moving to the left away from the bourgeoisie or moving to the right when going closer to the bourgeoisie. If our policies help to create class consciousness, they are correct. When they do not, they are wrong. In the present objective circumstances, the tendency is to make more errors of a Right character. Comrade Bittelman's policy in the mining situation is a good example. I want to know: was Comrade Bittelman's policy in the mining situation proposing that we declare the strike lost even months before the Lewis machine did, was this Left or Right? It was wrong and was a Right wing policy. It is true that the Lewis machine wanted us to take the initiative, to assume the leadership in this particular instance of calling off the strike. *If the Party had adopted this so-called "Left" position of Comrade Bittelman, we would have been left far behind the masses.*

Comrade Bittelman's policies of helping the Pennsylvania Labor Party to nominate Foster and Gitlow long before we did is another example of a dangerous error, a Right error. Was that a "Left" policy too? No. It gave the Labor Party the initiative in nominating the candidates of the Workers (Communist) Party (Interruption by Bittelman: Comrade Stachel informed us who might be the candidates). Comrade Bittelman should not base his policies on whispering campaigns.

Or, Comrade Foster in his policy of being opposed to inserting the class struggle in the new Miners Union platform? Was this a Right or a Left error? *It was a real Right error.*

I remember the "brilliant" analysis I gave at the February Plenum in defense of my wrong position in favor of endorsing Panken! *That was a Right error.* We even developed the illusion that if we succeeded in nominating Pankin, this in turn would cut down the power of Tammany Hall and Smith might not get the chance to mislead a lot of workers. You see, we did not have

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the radicalization issue then. Comrade Foster's proposal against our Panken position was correct insofar as it was opposed to the Panken maneuver, *but his policy as such was especially Right wing.* Instead of proposing to vote for no Socialist candidate, *Comrade Foster proposed that we go still further to the Right and wanted us to offer a united front on the whole Socialist Party ticket in New York City's elections.* (Interruption by Foster: I just picked up the wrong club.) Comrade Foster said he picked up the wrong club. I said *we* picked up the wrong club, but if we ever picked up Foster's club it would be still worse. (Interruption by Weinstone: Bittelman's Labor Party club of individual members.) That would club us to death.

The Open Letter to the Socialist Party: Why was it an error? It assumed that the Socialist Party was still a party of the working class. And Comrade Bittelman took the initiative in this. I am more guilty than he for following his lead! We took this step not because we were Right wing biologically or had a Right wing line. Already at that time we made motions which showed we had a clear understanding of the completely changed character of the Socialist Party.

The Right errors of the Central Executive Committee have been criticized properly by the Comintern.

Now regarding the last letter sent by the Comintern and read by Comrade Wagenknecht, the official reader of Communist International letters in the Opposition caucus. We have not yet received the official letter from the Comintern, but if the contents you have read are accurate, *I fully accept it without the slightest reservations. I am willing to fight for this letter. I can tell you that I will never again write an October 2nd statement of the kind I wrote. But will you accept this letter without reservations? We are waiting for your answer.*

And when you speak of self-criticism, why don't you please take that section of the last Comintern letter which declares that the *Communist International is of the opinion that the charge against the Central Executive Committee of being a Right wing is unfounded.* Why don't you accept the Comintern's decision on this? Why do you tell us that you accept five-sixths of the letter, but you don't accept the other one-sixth? Why don't you join with us in a 100 per cent acceptance of that letter, dropping all reservations? Why do you not help in removing factionalism? We are waiting for your answer.

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De Leonism and Communism

By KARL REEVE

(*Concluded from the August Communist*)

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND THE SOVIET

THE S. L. P. does not understand the nature of the Soviet. This confusion is clearly brought out in the Silver-Amter debate, published in 1927, by the S. L. P. Silver in speaking of the slogan of the Bolsheviks, "All Power to the Soviets," says: "Supreme authority was not to be demanded by the proletarian dictatorship, but by the Soviets. Silver could not understand that this slogan was a demand for political power, was ultimately, a demand for the dictatorship. He says: "The Russian workers didn't ask for a proletarian dictatorship but for 'All Power to the Soviets,' to what was nearest to an economic organization of the Russian workers." He calls the Soviets the "quasi-economic" organizations, corresponding to the Industrial Union in the United States. He makes a great point that the Soviet won the proletarian dictatorship for Russia. He says, "The Soviet is the 'Industrial Union' of Russia and the Industrial Union is the 'Soviet' of the United States."

The Soviet, my dear Mr. Silver, cannot be so separated from the dictatorship of the proletariat. Between the February and October revolutions there was a transition period in Russia where two powers were in existence side by side struggling for control. There was a government, endeavoring to carry out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to thwart the rising proletarian revolution. There was the Soviet, in which the Bolsheviks were at first a minority and therefore, whose function was prostituted by the Mensheviks and other lackeys of the bourgeoisie. The demand for "All Power to the Soviet" was the demand for the smashing of the bourgeois government, the demand that the Soviets should take their proper functions, the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat. *The Soviets are the apparatus, revealed by history, through which the dictatorship of the proletariat functions.* The Soviets are an international form—this is shown by history. They are not an economic organization but the form through which the dictatorship is expressed.

The revolutions of Hungary, Bavaria, Germany and the recent revolution in Canton show that the Soviets are an international form.

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Lenin, in "Ueber Gewerkschaften" (Berlin, 1927), says, "'The Soviet movement has ceased to be a movement of the Russian proletariat. It has been taken up by the international proletariat in its struggle for power. It has become a second stage in the universal development of the socialist revolution. The first stage in this development was the Paris Commune, which showed that the working class will achieve socialism only through dictatorship, only through the violent suppression of the exploiters. . . . The second stage of the world development of the socialist revolution is proletarian government. At first it (the Soviet) was regarded as a purely Russian phase, and facts seemed to confirm this. But events have shown that it is not merely a Russian phase, *but an international form of the proletarian struggle;* that the war which reshuffled the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, created a new form of organization, which rose up to confront predatory imperialism and the capitalist class with its hitherto unparalleled profits." (my emphasis—K. R.)

This might have been written especially in answer to the S. L. P. conception of the Soviet as a purely Russian form. Please notice one other point. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an instrument of force. And the workers of Russia, as Lenin points out, were enabled to achieve "All power to the Soviets" because they were armed, and because the bourgeoisie was helpless in the face of the armed workers. The question of force will be touched on in another article. It need only here be observed that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the exercise of the *force* of the working class against the exploiters. Lenin points out three reasons why the exploiters must be crushed: (1) the workers must overcome the power of international capitalism; (2) the exploiters have advantages after the revolution; they retain property, they have skill at business, they retain money, etc.; (3) the power of small production can be destroyed only gradually.

Thus he gives as tasks of the dictatorship, functioning through the Soviet government: (1) to break down the resistance of the landlords and capitalists, to liquidate counter-revolution; (2) to organize the new government through the solidification of all the toilers around the proletariat and to direct the efforts of this government toward the abolition of all classes; (3) TO ARM THE REVOLUTION, TO ORGANIZE THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY for the struggle against foreign enemies and counter-revolutionists (See Stalin's article—"Problems of Leninism"). Thus we have Lenin's definition in *State and Revolutions*; "The dictator-

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ship of the proletariat is the rule of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie limited by no law, based upon force and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses." So much for the S. L. P. claim that the advocacy of the use of force, of the arming of the workers, is "nonsense."

Why is the Soviet the best form for the dictatorship of the proletariat? Lenin brilliantly answers this question, defining and describing the function of the Soviet, in his brochure, *Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power*, written on the eve of the November revolution. He says: "The Soviets are the new state machinery. In the first place they give expression to the armed force of the workers and peasants; in such a way, however, that this force is not divorced from the people, as was the force of the old standing army, but is bound up with them as closely as possible. In a military sense this force is incomparably greater than the former; in relation to the revolution it is second to none. Secondly, the link of this machinery with the masses, with the majority of the people, is so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily verified and renewable that nothing like it is even approached in the former state. Thirdly, this machinery, because it is elective and its constitution is revocable in accordance with the will of the people without any formalities, is far more democratic than that of the old governments. Fourthly, it yields a firm connection with the most varied industries and professions thus facilitating all sorts of most radical reforms without any bureaucracy. Fifthly, it gives form to the organization of the vanguard, that is the most conscious, most energetic, most progressive section of the *oppressed* classes of the workers and peasants, and is thus an apparatus whereby the vanguard of the oppressed classes can uplift, educate and lead in its train the *whole gigantic mass* of these classes which have until now stood quite outside all political life, outside history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to unite the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy—that is, to unite in the persons of elected representatives of the people both legislative and *executive* functions. In comparison with bourgeois parliamentarism it is a step forward in the development of democracy which has a historical world significance." (Lenin's emphasis—K. R.)

This shows clearly the S. L. P. misconception with regard to the function of the Soviet. The Soviet is not an invention of Lenin's but grew out of history, just as the Paris Commune was not an invention. Lenin in the above citation, characterized the function and role of the Soviet in masterly fashion.

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Lenin, in *Soviets at Work* summarizes the Soviet's role in the following words:

> "The Soviet rule is nothing else than the organized form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of an advanced class awakening to a new democracy, to independent participation in the administration of the state."

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND INDUSTRIAL UNION

The S. L. P. says that the proletarian dictatorship is "nonsense" so far as the United States is concerned. That here, because the workers are in a majority, the industrial union will replace the dictatorship. "The industrial union fills the need here," says the pamphlet, *Workers Party* vs. *S. L. P.*

Silver in that debate above, says: "Lenin says that the industrial union is the same as the Soviet." Not at all. Lenin says nothing of the kind, as will be shown below. Silver further says, "How can you organize the workers into industrial unions in Russia when only a small minority are industrial workers? You cannot shave your beard when you are too young to have a beard."

This is typical of the S. L. P. standard of argument. The industrial unions of Russia have around ten million members, more than any other country in the world, but Silver says "it can't be done." So we must take Silver's word against the accomplished fact.

It is also worthy of note that the S. L. P. killed their industrial union, the Workers International Industrial Union, because they admitted it was so small that it was a mere shadow of the emaciated S. L. P. According to their theory that the imperialist United States leads the way for the Soviet Union the industrial unions should have more members here than in the Soviet Union. But here practically none exist at all.

In Russia the role of the trade unions in relation to the party and the state has been fully discussed. In 1921 there was a "workers' opposition," which had some of the same syndicalist tendencies as are manifested by the S. L. P. This opposition faded into thin air because the objective conditions proved them wrong and Lenin right. The opposition of 1921 had attributed to the trade unions functions that could be carried out only by the proletarian state. One paragraph of their thesis said:

> "The organization and management of national economy is the function of the All-Russian Congress of Producers, organized in the trade unions, which elect the central organ of the management of the whole of the economy of the country."

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Lenin answered—and his answer also refutes the S. L. P.—in a speech delivered March 16, 1921, that Engels had spoken of the "union of producers" in a society where classes did not exist, in complete socialism. But in the Soviet Union, in the transition stage "we have whole groups of remnants of and survivals of capitalism . . . . classes have remained in our country and will remain for a long time." Lenin continues, "when these class relations have remained, when remnants of the bourgeoisie are still to be found in the cracks and crevices of the internal life of our Soviet institutions, the advancement of a platform and thesis of this kind, under these conditions, is an obvious deviation in the direction of syndicalism and anarchism."

De Leon, and the S. L. P. were and are mistaken in believing that the industrial union can abolish capitalism and all its remnants at one blow and then proceed to run a classless society. No, the dictatorship is necessary. The resolution of the C. P. of Russia, 1921 Congress, on the party, said:

> "Only the political party of the working class, that is, the Communist Party, can unite, train and organize the vanguard of the proletariat and the masses of the toilers to be able to resist the inevitable petty-bourgeois waverings of this mass, to resist the traditions and the inevitable lapses of the proletariat to craft narrowness and craft prejudices, and to lead all sides of the proletarian movement, which means the whole mass of the toilers."

And in the United States especially, this wavering will have to be overcome. In the Soviet Union, even after ten years of proletarian dictatorship, when the industrial unions have become mass organizations, they cannot become the state. Lenin again touched this subject in a speech of December 30, 1920 (Vol. 18, Russian edition), delivered to the communist fraction of the 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets. He said:

> "The trade unions, which include practically all the industrial workers, represent, on the one hand, an organization of the ruling, dominating, and governing class, of that class which effects the **state** compulsion. But it is not a state organization, it is not an organization of compulsion, it is an educational organization, an organization which draws in and trains the workers. It is a school, a school of management, a school of communism. This is a very unusual type of school, for in it we do not find teachers and pupils, but a very peculiar combination of what has been left and could not help being left from capitalism, together with what the revolutionary advanced detachments, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat is bringing forth."

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Lenin then explains why, during the transition period, the trade unions cannot act as the state:

> "The trade unions stand, if we may say so, between the Party and the state. During the transition to socialism, a dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, but this dictatorship is not operated by the 100 per cent organizations of the industrial workers. Why? . . . The Party absorbs the vanguard of the proletariat; and thus it is impossible for the trade unions to effect the dictatorship, to carry out the functions of government. These functions have to be performed through a number of special institutions of an entirely new type, namely, through the Soviet apparatus. . . . The trade unions create the connection between the vanguard and the masses. The trade unions educate the masses by their everyday work. . . . That is one aspect of the question. The other is that the trade unions are the 'reservoir' of the government. . . . But the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be effected through the 100 per cent organization, for not only in Russia, *but even in all the other capitalist countries, the proletariat is so divided, so humiliated, so corrupted in places (namely by imperialism in some countries) that it is impossible to operate the dictatorship of the proletariat through the* 100 *per cent organization.* The dictatorship of the proletariat can be effected only by the vanguard which has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class. This results in a sort of a system of cogwheels. Such is the mechanism of the very basis of the proletarian dictatorship, of the very essence of the transition from capitalism to communism. The dictatorship cannot be effected without several 'transmission lines,' from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from the latter (the trade unions) to the mass of the toilers. *In Russia this is a peasant mass, but even in the most advanced countries there is a non-proletarian or an 'impurely' proletarian mass.*" (My emphasis—K. R.)

Lenin also shows, in *About the Trade Unions,* that the trade unions in Russia have a double function. Being a part of the proletarian state, they must increase the production, take part in the organs of government and build up the industrial economy. On the other hand, they must guard against bureaucracy which inevitably creeps into the Soviet apparatus. The trade unions must protect the interests of the masses of the toilers against bureaucracy and in addition participate in the work of the Soviet state.

The errors of the S. L. P., basing itself on the blueprint of De Leonism, now become clear to us. They would have the organizations embracing all the workers, lead where only the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, can lead in crushing out the old society and building the new. Fundamentally these attacks on the C. I. and the Soviet Union are based on the fact that the S. L. P. is not a Marxian organization, but a revision-

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ist organization which takes its place side by side with the social democracy in denying the dictatorship of the proletariat which is a fundamental part of Marxism.

The S. L. P. and De Leonism denies entirely the necessity for the transition period, and with the anarchists, would merely destroy the state entirely at one blow. The S. L. P. and De Leonism distort the role of the party and the trade unions, and follow a Utopian blueprint which excludes the learning of any lessons from the Russian revolution and from the dictatorship of the proletariat there. The S. L. P. and De Leonism denies also the necessity for civil war to overthrow the capitalist dictatorship, and denies the element of compulsion and force necessary to the seizing of political power by the workers.

I close this article with a quotation from Lenin which it seems to me characterizes, although too mildly, the stupidity and opportunism of the S. L. P.:

> "It would be the greatest stupidity and the most absurd opportunism to suppose that the transition from capitalism to socialism is possible without compulsion and dictatorship. Russia of 1917-1918 confirms in this respect the Marxian theory so clearly, palpably and convincingly that only those who are hopelessly stupid or who have firmly determined to ignore the truth can still err in this respect." (From *Soviets at Work.*)

[THE END]

KRONSTAD SAILOR—*Drawn by Wm. Siegel*

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The Economics of American Agriculture

By A. B. RICHMAN

(*Cncluuded from the June* COMMUNIST)

BANKRUPTCIES

Those among the bourgeois economists and politicians who are frank enough to tell the truth about the farm situation admit that fewer farms would be preferable. One of them, Prof. Black of the University of Minnesota, says that "so far as the present is concerned, it will be highly desirable if a few hundred thousand more farms are abandoned."[1]

During the 22 years of 1905-1926, the number of bankruptcies increased nearly 1000%—from 0.13 per thousand farms to 1.22. During this period the number of commercial bankruptcies has remained about the same. During the fiscal year 1926-27 farm bankruptcies were 6,000, or 12% of the 50,000 during the year, according to the Department of Justice. This was a larger number than in 1922, the worst period of the farm crisis, and twice as many as in 1921.

A Department of Agriculture survey of 69,000 owner-farmers and 26,000 tenant farmers in fifteen middle west states, shows that from January, 1920, to March, 1923, the following percentage of farmers lost their farms through bankruptcies, or were retaining them only by the "leniency of their creditors":

	Owners	*Tenants*	*Average of Both*
Lost Through Bankruptcy or Foreclosure	3.83%	6.78%	4.74%
Abandoned Without Legal Procedure	4.28%	7.75%	5.34%
TOTAL	8.11%	14.53%	10.08%
Retained by Leniency of Creditors	14.40%	20.54%	16.28%
Total No. of Bankrupt Farmers	22.51%	35.07%	26.36%

[1] *N. Y. Nation*, October 20, 1927.

This article is only an incomplete factual summary of some aspects of the economic situation of American agriculture. In later issues of *The Communist*, fuller studies of some of the specific problems touched upon here will be given. (A. G. R.)

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"Leniency of creditors" is in large part a method whereby finance capital expropriates the farmers without dispossessing them. Comrade O. Preedin has pointed this out in the "Workers Monthly" for September, 1925, where he states that particularly in the case of the beet and cane sugar farmers, but also in many other branches, the bankers find it to their advantage not to foreclose on bankrupt farmers in a period like the present, when farms can hardly be given away, let alone be sold. These "owners" who hang on by "leniency," in the case of sugar for example, cannot turn to other crops, nor can they argue about prices, but must work desperately for their creditors. Permanent leniency is a common phenomenon under present conditions. But this leniency suddenly comes to an end as soon as a good buyer appears for the farm.

TAXATION

The great bulk of the taxes paid by the farmer is local taxes on farm property. Federal income taxes are only a negligible percentage of the total. In 1926 total farm taxes amounted to $900,000,000, as against $350,000,000 in 1914, an increase of over 150%. This increase is 2½ times as great as that in the gross value of production, which amounted to only 60% during this period.

It is admitted even by Secretary Jardine that farmers pay 30% of their net income, after other expenses, for taxation. That this is a very conservative estimate can be seen from the data which follows. For example, F. P. Weaver of Pennsylvania State College states that farmers pay 37-40% of their net income in taxes, as against 12-14% for city residents.[2] An interesting comparison with industry is furnished by Senator Capper, who quotes Babson, a prominent bourgeois economist, to the effect that agriculture pays 86% of its net profits in taxation, whereas transportation pays only 36%, banking 31%, and manufacturing 24%.[3]

Agricultural tenancy is a somewhat difficult subject to deal with, in view of the sparsity of statistics and their bad arrangement. A favorite theory of the American bourgeoisie is that of the agricultural "ladder" of success. This means that the average farmer starts as a laborer, works his way up to tenancy, and later becomes an owner.

In the northeast the percentage of ownership increased between 1920 and 1925, but the increase was chiefly due to city workers taking up farming as a side line, or to the movement of industrial

[2] *Daily Worker*, Nov. 23, 1926.
[3] *N. Y. Times*, New York, Nov. 20, 1927.

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workers to the country where "cheaper houses could be obtained and where the family carried on some farming as a means of supplementing other sources of income."[4]

In the West North Central division there has been the biggest increase in tenancy during the past few decades, and the increase has been general throughout the states in this division. It was due primarily to a retrogression from ownership. Many owners became tenants, and other owners, on leaving the farm, leased their land to tenants on any terms obtainable."[5]

In the north 80% of the landlords owning farms rented to tenants were not farmers, and 38% of them hhad never been farmers (the rest being retired farmers). This shows the extent of absentee landlordism, since 80% were bankers, merchants, retired farmers, etc. It fits in well with other impressions of an increasing degree of ownership of farms by finance capital and business men.

In the West the Mountain division shows an increase of ownership in only a few sections, and decreases in large sections, especially where tenancy increased. Here tenancy increased more than in any other division between 1920 and 1925. Many of the 1920 owners were tenants in 1925, despite the increase in homesteading in this division, which increased the number of owners of small farms greatly. In the Pacific division ownership increased greatly, offsetting the decrease in tenancy, so that relatively there was little change in the percentage of tenancy in 1925. The greatest increase in ownership was due to homesteading and to a great increase in the purchase of small farms under 50 acres which specialized in fruit-growing, etc.

In the South, the South Atlantic division showed a decrease of 50,000 in the number of tenant farms and a slight increase in ownership, indicating the wholesale expropriation of tenants, who became laborers or left farming. In the East South Central division there has been a decrease in ownership and a slight increase in tenancy. Much of the increase in ownership was in the coal mining sections of eastern Tennessee and Kentucky, coincident with similar tendencies in adjacent Virginia and North Carolina where many miners farm company land. The decrease in ownership was general throughout this division, but was especially noticeable in the districts occupied by small farms, indicating an increasing amount of expropriation. In the West South Central division where there was the greatest relative increase in tenancy, the large decrease in owner-

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[4]Department of Agriculture, *U. S. Daily, Washington*, 3.15.27.
[5]U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *"Year Book of Agriculture,"* Washington, 1926, p. 703.

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ship coincided with and was closely related geographically to the great increase in the number of tenant farms.

DEPRECIATION OF MACHINERY, LIVE-STOCK, ETC.

No. Sold or Amount Spent	1920	1921	% Decrease 1920-21	1924
Gas Tractors	161,896	52,540	67%	73,855
Planting Machinery	21,612	5,870	73%	8,659
Harvesting Machinery	30,626	8,977	71%	14,898
All Machinery (No.)	471,422	228,988	53%	283,414
All Machinery (Val.-bil.$)	721	418	57%	
Buildings (Val.-bil. $)	232	171	26%	

No data is given for the number of tractors sold in 1921, but the number manufactured shows a tremendous decline as compared with 1920. 1922 shows a small increase over 1921, so the figures for 1922 are larger than for 1921. This is true of figures for all machinery sold also. The decrease from 1920 to 1921 is really greater than that shown above because of the decline of prices, which is not taken into account. The National Industrial Conference Board admits that this great depreciation in buildings, machinery and implements, "probably reflects also the fact already noted, that in depression periods maintenance costs are postponed."

We would say that such costs are foregone, for there is very little chance for most farmers ever to catch up. This is one step on the royal road to bankruptcy and abandonment.

Sales of machinery and implements up to 1920 were great enough to increase the agricultural equipment, but since 1920, the figures given above speak for themselves. Present sales "are too low to maintain equipment." These authorities also admit that after the depression, buildings, fences and equipment "will be in a very bad condition."

A further important evidence of depreciation is seen in the decreased number of livestock on the farms, and, incidentally, in the resulting decrease in the source of natural fertilizer, in the period from 1910 to 1927. The following dates are as of January 1st of each year:

LIVESTOCK ON FARMS 1910-1927 (IN MILLIONS)

	Horses	All Cattle	Dairy Cattle	Sheep	Swine
1910	19.83	61.80	....	52.49	58.19
1920	19.77	66.65	31.36	35.03	59.35
1925	16.49	61.99	26.68	38.11	55.57
1926	15.84	59.15	26.16	39.86	52.06
1927	15.28	57.52	25.90	41.91	52.54

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LIVING CONDITIONS

Former Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, in his 1923 report to the President, states that the drastic economies necessitated by the crisis "have greatly reduced farm standards of living. They have compelled over-work by the farmers, unaccustomed farm work by farm mothers, increased work by children kept out of school—in too many cases the older children taken out for good. Continued disappointment on the part of all members of the family, worry and discouragement, added to privations, have resulted in the breaking up of many a home." Farmers, though 30 per cent of the population, have 35 per cent of the children of the country, and the condition described above by Wallace has resulted in retrenchment in schooling, recreation and various cultural opportunities.

The Department of Agriculture investigations of the farmers' cost of living shows that the average family spends only one-fortieth of its annual expenditures on education, a similar amount on furnishing the home, and only three eightieths on health. Even the New York Times is forced to admit that "the whole scale seems low by comparison with the budget of an urbanite." The author of this investigation finds compensation for this meager standard of living in "major satisfactions," such as breeding of prize stock and growing choice grains or fruits, or in the opportunity for apprenticeship which is "unequalled in any other trade or occupation." (sic!)

MECHANIZATION

Some of the latest machinery which is being introduced into agriculture includes the combined harvester and thresher (the combine) for wheat, the corn-picker, various new cotton picking machines, cotton-dusting by aeroplane, the alfalfa dryer, the berry-sorter, the tractor, etc. Some of these are not so very widely used as yet, but there is no doubt thatthey will mean a new revolution in agricultural technique. The combine has made it possible to harvest fields otherwise uneconomical and saves from 125 to 185 per cent of the operating cost of the usual machines. Wheat harvested with the combine is of a somewhat higher quality, and the waste is only one-half per cent, or from one-half to one-quarter of what it is with the usual machinery. The combine also saves an average of two bushels an acre, loss of wheat in handling, much time, and employs three-fifth as many hands less per combine, etc. It costs four cents a bushel, saving 19 cents per bushel over the older method.

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In Kansas alone, 10,000 *combines were used in* 1927, 25 *per cent more than in* 1926. *Each combine displaced three harvest hands,* so that in this State alone 30,000*laborers were needed instead* of the usual 60,000 otherwise needed for that size of harvest. Only Argentine surpasses Kansas in the use of mechanical farm methods. In the whole Western Wheat Belt 80,000 to 90,000 harvest laborers were estimated to have been eliminated by combines.

The number of tractors in use has increased over 100 per cent between 1920 and 1925, at which latter date it was 506,000 and it has again increased 38 per cent between 1925 and 1927, when it was 700,000.

Comparing the amount of improved land with the amount of machinery we find that in 1920 the North, which had 58.04 per cent of the improved farm land of the U. S., had 66.78 per cent of the value of machinery and implements. The South, with 31.22 per cent of the improved land, had only 21.45 per cent of machinery, and the West with 10.74 per cent of the improved land, had 11.77 per cent of the machinery. This data, together with the use of labor, fertilizer and more commercial type of farming, showed the more intensive cultivation and the more capitalistic development of the North as compared with the other divisions.

CONCLUSION

CAPITALISTIC DEVELOPMENT

American agriculture is already largely capitalistic in the sense that the American farmer is a business man usually producing one or two specialized products for sale in city markets. Only about 20 per cent of farm production is consumed by the farmers. The American farmer is a profit-maker, ready to leave at any moment, to take up an appaently more profitable piece of land. We have evidence of this in the great turnover in the number of farms, especially by tenants, but also by owners. B. F. Yoakum, a railroad and bank magnate[6] has put this fore forcefully in a statement that farming is "becoming corporationized"—rich town people are "rapidly becoming owners of farms. . . . Tenantry is only one step removed from peasantry."

An example of what American farming is slowly tending toward can be seen from the great 100,000 acre wheat farm conducted

[6] "*Manufacturers' Record,*" quoted in *Daily Worker,* May 5, 1927.

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by the Campbell Farming Corporation at Hardin, Montana. There are no animals working on the farm and comparatively few workers. All the ploughing, seeding, harvesting and threshing is done on a gigantic scale by machinery. Productions costs have been decreased annually until in 1926 they were $8 per acre, compared with the government standard of $16.50 per acre for an efficient farm. The wheat combine is greatly used by Campbell and has reduced labor per acre from three hours to three-fourth hours—75 per cent reduction.[7]

In 1924, 7,428 farming corporations filled income tax returns. Of 1,689 of these returns, 42 per cent were in stock raising and 56 per cent in fruit farming, using hired managers and laborers. It is interesting to note that stock raising is the most extensive and fruit the most intensive type of farming from the point of view of the constant and variable capital involved. Of course, less than one-fourth of the 7,428 farms are included in these two categories, so we cannot judge to what extent corporation farming is really concentrated in these two groups, but there is no doubt that a large percentage of it is.[8]

There have been many failures in corporation farming but these emphasize the organizational difficulties, particularly that of capital, and indicate that only large corporations with good financial backing can run farms as purely industrial enterprises. Critics of corporation farming, besides speaking of failures and organizational difficulties, betray their real fears, however, when they speak of the social consequences of displacing farmers with wage working farmers. There will be a great social upheaval before farming is corporationized in the U. S., for the American farmer is a fighter, with a fighting tradition, once he knows his enemy.

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[7] *New York Times*, September 1, 1927.
[8] "Workers Monthly," September, 1925.

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ERRATA: In the installment of *The Economics of American Agriculture* which appeared in the June, 1928 issue of THE COMMUNIST, the following errors should be noted:

Page 357, table on value of farm real estate, last two columns should be headed "Decrease, 1920-1927 and 1926-1927."

Page 359, table as a whole is incorrectly printed. It should be as follows:

	1919-20	1925-26	1926-27
(A) Value all capital invested (bil.$)	79.5	59.7	58.3
(B) Value net investment (bil.$)	47.1	32.7	31.8
(C) Income on A (mil.$)	5030	3082	2440
Rate of income on A	6.3%	5.2%	4.2%
(D) Income on B (mil.$)	2675	1413	874
Rate of income on B	5.7%	4.3%	2.7%
(E) Rate of Income of corporations	..	13%	13%
(F) Gross Value of agricultural production (bil.$)	24	17	16.3
(G) Gross income (bil.$)	15.72	12.67	12.08
(H) Rate of gross income	equals 100% (1919-20)	86%	77%
(I) Rate of interest on Mortgage, etc., debts	6.7%	6.4%	6.3%
(J) Rate of interest on property rented	8.3%	7.4%	7.1%
(K) Income for capital, labor and management	$1246	$922	$853
(L) Income available for labor and management	$917	$690	$627
Rate of earnings for:			
(M) Average hired hand		84%	86%
(N) Average factory worker	1919-20	101%	101%
(O) Average farm family	equals 100%	77%	70%

Page 360, line 9—14.1% should read 1.14%.

Page 360, footnote 12—should read "1926 Year Book of Agriculture," Washington, 1927, p. 1207.

Page 361, end of line 5—should read "was not only NOT reduced."

Page 361, last line of table on "Mortgage and Other Indebtedness"—figures for West North Central division omitted—should be: 110.7, 160.3, 128.8, 258.7.

Page 361, footnote 15 should be omitted.

Page 362, line 2—10% should read 19%.

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An Appeal

***To all subscribers of* THE COMMUNIST**
To all literature agents and organizers of the Workers (Communist) Party

This number of the theoretical organ of the Workers (Communist) Party is a combination of the January and February issues. The reason for this is that we were short of funds, and could not get the January issue out on time.

We appeal to all subscribers, and to all functionaries of the Party, to get others to subscribe immediately, so that the future issues may appear on time. We must get at least 1,000 new subscribers. To do this, YOUR COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL. *Get a subscription today and send it in.* We offer a combination of THE COMMUNIST and THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL both for one year for $3.00. This is a saving of $1.00.

We hope in the near future to improve THE COMMUNIST; we plan to add several new features, such as editorial comment on the events of the month, more book reviews, more pictures, etc. BUT TO CONTINUE TO EXIST AND SERVE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN AMERICA WE MUST HAVE MONEY IMMEDIATELY. *It is the duty of every Communist to make it his business immediately to get subs for*

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